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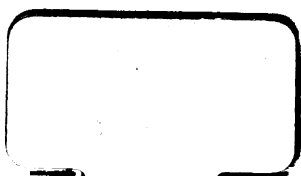
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J. N. 1825

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✓ **HORÆ PROPHETICÆ;**

OR

DISSERTATIONS

ON

THE BOOK OF

THE

Prophet Daniel,

BY

THE REV. JOSEPH WILSON, A. M.

MINISTER OF LAXTON, NORTHAMPTONSHIRE.



*"Prophecy came not in old time by the will of man; but holy men
of God spake as they were moved by the Holy Ghost."*

St. Peter.

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TO
MATTHEW SMITH, ESQUIRE,
OF
COCKERMOUTH, IN CUMBERLAND,
THIS WORK IS INSCRIBED,
AS A TESTIMONY OF THE
SINCEREST ESTEEM AND GRATITUDE,
BY
THE AUTHOR.

INTRODUCTION.

"DANIEL was a descendant of the Kings of Judah. He is related to have been born at upper Bethoron, which was in the territory of Ephraim. He was carried away captive to Babylon, in the fourth year of Jehoiakim, A. M. 3398; probably in the eighteenth, or twentieth year of his age; and on account of his birth, wisdom, and accomplishments, was selected to stand in the presence of Nebuchadnezzar; so that in him, and his companions, was fulfilled that prophecy, in which Isaiah declared to Hezekiah that his issue should be eunuchs in the palace of the King of Babylon" ^a.

The character of Daniel is one of the most perfect recorded in the sacred Scriptures; for whether we consider him as a man, or as a Prophet and servant of the true God, or as a faithful minister to his prince, we shall find every thing to admire and esteem. In early life he was so renowned for his wisdom, as to be held in the greatest estimation among men; for his wisdom was spoken of by way of proverb through all the East. And hence God, by Ezekiel (xxviii. 3.) "particularly upbraideth *Ithobal*, then King of *Tyre*, with the

^a Gray. p. 405. Ed. 5th.

insolent and proud conceit, he had of his own knowledge and understanding, *as if he were wiser than Daniel, and that there was no secret that could be hid from him*: which sheweth to how great an height the fame of Daniel's wisdom was at that time grown, since it now became spoken of by way of proverb through all the east. And yet...he could not at this time exceed six and thirty years"^b. Josephus says, "Daniel having gained the universal esteem of a person highly in favour both with God and man, erected a stately fabric at Ecbatana, the Capital of Media; a work every way wonderful, as well for the structure and strength of it, as for the beauty. The Building is still to be seen, and looks as fresh and as firm at this instant, as if it had been finished but the day you first saw it: Whereas, it fares with other edifices as with human bodies, time wears them out and disfigures them"^c. Hence it is clear, that Daniel's wisdom was not confined to things divine and political, but reached also to arts and sciences, and particularly to Architecture. According to St. Jerom, this Building was erected, not at Ecbatana, but at Susa; For "the copies of Josephus that are now extant, do indeed place this building at Ecbatana, in Media, but St. Jerom, who gives us the same account of it, word for word, out of Josephus, and professeth so to do, placeth it in Susa, in Persia; which makes it plain, that the copy of Josephus, which he made use of, had it so, and it is most likely to have been the true reading. For Susa being within the Babylonish empire, the Scripture tells us that Daniel had sometimes his residence there,

^b Prid v. i p. 80.

^c Jos. L. 10. c. 12.

and the common tradition of those parts hath been for many ages past, that Daniel died in that City, which is now called Tuster, and there they shew his monument even to this day.”^d

Nor was Daniel less eminent for his **PIETY** than his wisdom; his regard for his God was not to be shaken either by the allurements of a court, or the persecutions of his enemies. Ezekiel (xiv. 14.) ranks him with Noah and Job: of the former it is said (*Gen.* vi. 9), “Noah was a just man, and perfect in his generations, and Noah walked with God;” And of the latter (*Job*, i. 1.), that he “was perfect and upright, and one that feared God, and eschewed evil.” And such also was Daniel’s character; for he grew “to so great a perfection and eminency, in all righteousness, holiness, and piety of life, in the sight both of God and man, that he is by God himself, equalled with *Noah* and *Job*, and reckoned with these two to make up the three, who of all the Saints, that had till then, lived upon the earth, had the greatest power to prevail with God in their prayers for others. And yet he was then but a young man; for allowing him to be eighteen, when he was carried away to Babylon, among other children, to be there educated and brought up for the service of the king...thirty two at this time must have been the utmost of his age. But he dedicated the prime and vigour of his life to the service of God, and that is the best time to make proficiency therein.”^e No fear of death could prevent Daniel from rendering to God the duty of prayer and thanksgiving: His enemies laid a snare, by which they hoped to de-

^d Prid. an. 534.

^e Idem 592.

stroy him ; but the fear of the lion's den availed not to prevent the discharge of his duty, for " he kneeled upon his knees three times a day, and prayed, and gave thanks before his God, as he did aforetime " (*Dan.* vi. 10.) And the God whom he served shut the mouths of the lions, preserved the life of his faithful servant, and proved his power to save and defend his people, under the greatest difficulties and persecutions.

In Daniel we also see a real PATRIOT. Though removed from his own country at an early age, yet he was ever anxious for its welfare and happiness. The temple, the city, and the people of God lay near his heart; and, therefore, we find him, with such earnestness, seeking their deliverance from captivity, by prayer, with fasting, sackcloth, and ashes. The honours granted to him by various Monarchs, did not make him indifferent to his own people and country; nor did the distinction and fame which he acquired, lessen his humility, or make him forget the distress of others. He employed his influence at Court for the advantage of his nation; and he intercedes with God to have mercy upon the people of his covenant. He says, " Now, therefore, O our God, hear the prayer of thy Servant, and his supplications, and cause thy face to shine upon thy sanctuary that is desolate, for the Lord's sake. O my God, incline thine ear, and hear; open thine eyes, and behold our desolations, and the city which is called by thy name... O Lord, hear; O Lord, forgive; O Lord, hearken and do; defer not, for thine own sake, O my God: for thy city and thy people are called by thy name " (*Dan.* ix. 17—19). No change of place or circumstances ever

drew his affections from the temple and worship of Jehovah, or from his country and nation: He lamented their afflictions, and employed his influence to remove them.

That Daniel was a PROPHE^T, in the fullest sense of the word, is proved not only by his writings, but by the express testimony of our Lord (*Mat.* xxiv. 15. *Mark* xiii. 14): He says, "When ye therefore shall see the abomination of desolation, spoken of by Daniel the PROPHE^T, stand in the holy place, ... then let them which be in Judea flee into the mountains." The testimony of Josephus is also very full to our purpose: He says; Daniel "had this singular blessing attending him, over and above his excellent gift of PROPHE^{CY}, that he lived in a high degree of reputation, both with King and People; and at his death, left an immortal memory behind him, to his everlasting honour. For we find by his writings that are yet extant, and in daily use and reading, that beyond all question God admitted him into express colloquies, and revealed to him not only the sum and substance of things to come, as was usual to other PROPHE^TS, but the very time when such or such an event should come to pass. And whereas other Prophets were more exercised in the foreboding of calamities, and consequently drew upon themselves envy and ill will both from Princes and People; Daniel, on the contrary, made friends of both, by the good things he told them, which they took delight to hear. And then for the certainty of the event, all Mortals are agreed upon it, that he spake from the *dictate* of an INFALLIBLE SPIRIT, as may be abundantly gathered also from the writings

which this great PROPHET hath left behind him... So that when I consider the Predictions of Daniel, I cannot forgive the ignorance and irreverence of those people that make it their profession to decry *Providence*, as if God took no care of us; for how is it possible there should be such a correspondence betwixt a thing foretold at one time, and fulfilled so many ages after: if, according to their opinion, every thing were left to Hap-hazard?"^f What the very learned Prideaux has said respecting Daniel will well apply here: "He was a very extraordinary person both in wisdom and piety; and was favoured of God, and honoured of men, beyond any that had lived in his time. His prophecies respecting the Messiah, and other great events of after-times, are the clearest, and the fullest of all that we have in the Holy Scriptures, in so much that *Porphyry*, in his objections against them, saith, they must have been written after the facts were done. For it seems they rather appeared to him to be a narrative of matters afore transacted, than a prediction of things to come, so great an agreement was there between the facts, when accomplished, and the prophecies which foretold them."^g It is probable that Daniel lived to the age of about ninety one years. For "in the third year of Cyrus, in the first month of that year Daniel did give himself up to mourning and fasting for three weeks together. After this, on the twenty fourth day of that Month; he saw the vision concerning the success of the kings of *Persia*, the empire of the *Macedonians*, and the conquests of the *Romans*,

^f Jos. L. 10. c. 12,

^g Prid. an. 534.

of which the three last chapters of his prophecies contain an account. And by what is written in the conclusion of the last of them, he seems to have died soon after, and his great age makes it not likely that he could have survived much longer. For the third of Cyrus being the seventy third year of his captivity, if he were eighteen years old at his carrying to Babylon, (as I have shewn before, is the least that can be supposed) he must have been in the ninety first year of his age at this time, which was a length of years given to few in those days.”^b

“The book of Daniel contains a very interesting mixture of history and prophecies; the former being introduced, as far as was necessary, to describe the conduct of the Prophet, and to shew the design and occasion of his predictions. The first six chapters are chiefly historical; though, indeed, the second Chapter contains the prophetic interpretation of Nebuchadnezzar’s dream concerning the kingdoms which were successively to illustrate the power of that God, who removeth and setteth up Kings, as seemeth good to him. The four historical chapters which succeed, relate the miraculous deliverance of Daniel’s companions from the furnace; the remarkable punishment of Nebuchadnezzar’s arrogance; the impiety, and portended fate of Belshazzar; and the divine interposition for the protection of Daniel in the lions’ den. All these accounts are written with a Spirit and animation highly interesting; we seem to be present at the scenes described; and the whole work is enriched with the most exalted sentiments of

^b Prid. an. 534.

piety; and with the finest attestations to the praise and glory of God.

The last six chapters of this book are composed of prophecies delivered at different times; all of which are, however, connected as parts of one great scheme. They extend through many ages; and furnish the most striking description of the fall of successive kingdoms, which were to be introductory to the establishment of the Messiah's reign. They characterize in descriptive terms the four great monarchies of the world, to be succeeded by "that kingdom which should not be destroyed." They foreshew the power and destruction of Antichrist, in predictions repeated and extended by St. John; and conclude, with a distinct assurance of a general resurrection to a life of everlasting shame, or everlasting glory."¹

"Part of the book of Daniel, that is from the fourth verse of the second chapter, to the end of the seventh chapter, is originally written in the Chaldee language. For there the Holy Prophet, treating of *Babylonish* affairs, wrote of them in the *Chaldee*, or *Babylonish* language. All the rest is in *Hebrew*. The *Greek* translation of this Book used by the *Greek* Churches through all the Eastern countries was that, which was translated by *Theodotion*. In the vulgar *Latin* Edition of the Bible, there is added in the third chapter, after the twenty third verse, between that and the twenty fourth verse, the song of the three children; and, at the end of the Book, the history of *Susanna*, and of *Bel and the Dragon*: And the former is made the thirteenth, and the other the fourteenth chapter

¹ Gray p. 409—11.

of the Book in that Edition. But these additions were never received into the Canon of Holy Writ by the Jewish Church, neither are they extant either in the Hebrew, or the Chaldee language; nor is there any evidence that they ever were so." *

The book of Daniel gives a grand and sublime outline of the history of the world, as referring in particular to the Church of God: And it is evident, even to a superficial reader, that the Revelation of St. John, is an amplification and enlargement of the Book of Daniel. In interpreting this Book, my object has been, to distract, as little as I could, the mind of the reader by variety of interpretation: I have endeavoured to set before him what appeared to me the most easy and most consistent exposition of the various prophecies which Daniel delivers; and, as far as possible, to save him the labour and toil which I had to employ. But why do I call it a labour and toil? I have found it a pleasure and a delight: I have found the study of this Book a source of constant improvement in all the changes of life; it has afforded me a constant object to which I could turn my attention, during my very few leisure hours; it has eased my mind in many a day of affliction and trial; it has afforded me amusement, and what is more valuable, instruction and edification; it has tended to strengthen my trust in God, and to feel confident that his Church and people will ever be protected by him; and, whilst it has suppressed a vain and idle curiosity into futurity, it has fully confirmed my faith in that Providence which watches over all things, and in that Gospel

* Prid. an. 534.

"which is the power of God unto salvation to every one that believeth." Should the Reader enjoy but half the pleasure, in perusing these dissertations, which I have had in their composition, I shall feel rewarded for my labour, and bless God for the result.

Dissertation

I.

CHAPTER I. *Vs.* 1—7.

WHOEVER wishes to have a competent knowledge of the Scriptures, must be careful to compare one part with another. For though the different books of the Bible were many of them written by different people, and at very distant times, yet there is a remarkable correspondence between them; a correspondence which will appear the more particular and minute, the more it is investigated.

Of this correspondence we see a full proof in Paley's *Horæ Paulinæ*; in which he points out a great many, and to an ordinary reader, imperceptible parts of agreement between the Acts of the Apostles and St. Paul's Epistles. Equally striking is the agreement between the Prophetical and the Historical parts of the Old Testament; for the latter often point out the accomplishment of those things which by the former had been many years before predicted. And although many of the prophecies relate to events beyond the time to which sacred history extends, and must therefore be explained by prophane, yet many others, and especially those respecting the captivity of Israel and Judah, are clearly explained by sacred history.

The design of those prophecies which refer to the captivity, was not merely to give information of events which would happen, but to operate as a warning to the people, that they might forsake their sins: and hence the Prophets were as watchmen, (*Ezek. iii. 17.*) that by giving the people notice of their danger on account of their wickedness, their blood might be on their own heads. God is unwilling to punish; and therefore he sent his servants, as Isaiah and Jeremiah, to inform the Jews of all those evils which he would bring upon them, unless they turned to the living and true God.

But they regarded not his warnings, and, therefore, (*Dan. i. 1. 2.*) "*in the third year of the reign of Jehoiakim king of Judah, came Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon unto Jerusalem and besieged it. And the Lord gave Jehoiakim king of Judah into his hand, with part of the vessels of the house of God; which he carried into the land of Shinar to the house of his God; and he brought the vessels into the treasure house of his God.*"

This captivity of the Jews had been predicted above one hundred years before the Event by Isaiah; (*Isa. xxxix. 6. 7.*) for after Hezekiah had ostentatiously shewn his treasures to the Ambassadors of Merodach-baladan ^a king of Babylon, Isaiah went to him, and gave him this information from the Lord: "*Behold, the days come, that all that is in thine house, and that which thy Fathers have laid up in store until this day shall be carried to Babylon. Nothing shall be left, saith the Lord And of thy sons that shall issue from thee, which thou shall beget, shall they take away; and they shall be Eunuchs in the palace of the king of Babylon.*"

^a Prid. an. 713.

When the time for the accomplishment of this prediction drew near, the prediction itself was renewed in terms still more explicit; for Jeremiah (xxv. 11.) told the Jews, *before* Nebuchadnezzar had taken Jerusalem: "*This whole land shall be a desolation and an astonishment; and these nations shall serve the king of Babylon seventy years.*" ^b

Now only compare these predictions of Isaiah and Jeremiah with the first six verses of the first of Daniel, and it must be evident that they were exactly fulfilled. The prophecy says; "*That which thy fathers have laid up in store until this day shall be carried to Babylon:*" the history informs us; That Nebuchadnezzar took Jerusalem; rifled the treasury; and made captive the chief people, the princes of the land, and took the spoil to the "*treasure house of his God.*" The prophecy says; "*These nations shall serve the king of Babylon seventy years;*" and sacred history informs us (*Ezra*, i. 1, 2, 3, 4.) "*that in the first^c year of Cyrus king of Persia*"—which was exactly seventy years from the time in which this captivity took place—" *that the word of the Lord by the mouth of Jeremiah might be fulfilled, the Lord stirred up the spirit of Cyrus king of Persia, that he made a proclamation*"—for the restoration of the Jews; and not only so, but also restored to them the vessels of Gold and of Silver which Nebuchadnezzar had taken away. (*Ezra*, i. 7—11.)

There is one thing to be particularly observed with regard to the history of the captivities of the Jews; that though there is a precise time, from which they are to be dated, and at which they end; yet the entire removing of them from, or resettling them in their own

^b Prid. an. 606.

^c Prid.

country, occupies a considerable portion of time, which must be reckoned in the years of the captivity, or not reckoned, as the reason of the case requires. Accordingly we find, that though the seventy years' captivity is to be dated from the fourth of Jehoiakim, (B. C. 606.) yet the people were not all taken away at *that* time, nor all the treasures removed from the house of God.

Of the Jews, therefore, there were *three* great instances of their being taken captive; all which are to be included in the seventy years. The first occurred in the fourth of Jehoiakim, of which we have already spoken; the second (B. C. 598) in the short reign of Jehoiachin son of Jehoiakim; and the third (B. C. 588) in the eleventh year of the reign of Zedekiah. There was also a fourth (B. C. 584,) but this was a very small one compared with the others; for before the fourth took place, the land of Judah was almost destitute of inhabitants.

The first instance being already explained, it will be unnecessary to repeat what has been said: but it will not be improper to attend a little to the others; as, in doing this, we shall find some remarkable prophecies fulfilled.

When Jehoiakim, in the fourth year of his reign, found himself conquered by Nebuchadnezzar, he humbled himself, and submitted to become his servant or tributary (2 Kings, xxiv. 1.); but after three years he rebelled against him, and formed an alliance with Pharaoh Necho. But this rebellion ended in his death; for not being able to withstand the forces which attacked him on every side, he was shut up in Jerusalem, taken prisoner, slain, and his dead body cast into the high way, like the carcase of an Ass.^d Now compare

^d Prid. an. 599. Josephus, L. 10. C. 8. There seems some difference between the account here given of Jehoiakim's death, and that

this with Jeremiah (xxii. 19.) and the agreement is wonderful: "*He,—Jehoiakim,—shall be buried with the burial of an Ass, drawn and cast forth beyond the gates of Jerusalem.*" Let it also be remembered that Jeremiah delivered this prediction six years before its fulfilment, thereby proving himself a true prophet of the Lord, and that all things are known unto God.

After the death of Jehoiakim, his son Jehoiachin who had been united with him in the government ascended the throne: but his reign was short; for Nebuchadnezzar came to the siege of Jerusalem in person, took the king and his mother, and all the princes and chief people captive, and left none, "*save the poorest sort of the people of the land.*" (*2 Kings*, xxiv. 14—17.) He also took away great quantities of treasure which had been left when he first took the city; and left Mattaniah, (whose name he changed into Zedekiah, and who was the uncle of Jehoiachin,) king of Judah (*2 Kings*, xxiv. 10—20.)

The circumstances of this second taking away of the Jews, were clearly foretold by Jeremiah (xxii. 25.) where he says, "*I will give thee, Jehoiachin, into the hand of them that seek thy life—into the hand of Nebuchadrezzar king of Babylon.—And I will*

given *2 Chron.* xxxvi. 6. which says, "Against him—Jehoiakim—came up Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon, and bound him in fetters to carry him to Babylon." This difficulty may be easily solved: for the passage just quoted, does not say, that he carried him to Babylon, but bound him to carry him; i. e. according to Montanus, *ad ire faciendum eum, in order to make him go, or, for the purpose of carrying him.* This passage in Chronicles refers to the fourth year of Jehoiakim's reign, when he became prisoner to Nebuchadnezzar, and in consequence of humbling himself was restored to his crown; but does not refer to the eleventh year of his reign, when he was slain, and his burial, the burial of an Ass.

cast thee out, and thy Mother that bare thee, into another country, where ye were not born, and there shall ye die." And there we find (Jer. lii. 31—34.) Jehoiachin did die.

But though Nebuchadnezzar raised Zedekiah to the throne, yet he rebelled against him, in the eight year of his reign; and hence arose the third instance of the Jews being taken away captive. Of this third instance there are some remarkable predictions both by Ezekiel and Jeremiah, which we will compare with history.

Four years before the events took place, Ezekiel predicted (Chap. xii.) the taking of Jerusalem by the Chaldeans; Zedekiah's flight by night; and his imprisonment and death at Babylon.* But Jeremiah is still more express in his language (Chap. 34.), where he foretold, a year before the events, that Jerusalem should be burnt by the king of Babylon;—that Zedekiah should *see* Nebuchadnezzar, though Ezekiel had predicted his eyes should be put out, both of which circumstances we shall find were accurately fulfilled; and that he should die in peace, and not by the sword.

Now attend to the history, which gives an account of the accomplishment of these predictions. "*They (the forces of Nebuchadnezzar,) burnt the house of God, and brake down the wall of Jerusalem, and burnt all the palaces thereof with fire.*" (2 Chron. xxxvi. 19.). "*They took the king, Zedekiah, and brought him up to the king of Babylon to Riblah,*" where he *saw* Nebuchadnezzar. And after Judgment was past upon him, "*they slew the sons of Zedekiah before his eyes, and put out the eyes of Zedekiah.*" (2 Kings xxv. 6, 7,). How exactly, therefore, were those seemingly discordant

* Prid, an. 592.

prophecies fulfilled ! For Zedekiah *did see* Nebuchadnezzar ; and, then, as a punishment for his treachery, his eyes were put out. As for his death, we find it was in peace, (*Jer.* lii. 11.); for he was taken to Babylon, and remained in prison till he died in peace, that is, a natural death.^f

As we have already said, there was a fourth instance of the Jews being taken away ; which occurred (B. C. 584.) and which fully completed the desolation of the land, no more of its former inhabitants being now left therein. But in this last instance few were left to be taken away ; so great had been the evils which the Jews suffered under the three former instances, and so accurately were all the predictions of the Prophets accomplished respecting them.

The country, the land of Shinar, to which the Jews were taken captive, is of great note, both in sacred and prophane history ; since the tower of Babel was built in it, and consequently the city of Babylon, the metropolis of a vast and powerful empire.

Of the derivation of the word Shinar there are different opinions ; as indeed there are about the derivation of almost all proper names of countries and places. Cruden gives three definitions of it : “ the watching of him that sleeps ; or spoil of the tooth ; or change of the city.” But perhaps the ideal meaning of the word is more accurately conveyed by one of the two opinions which Pole cites in his Synopsis on Gen. x. 10 : the first is, that the country was so called, because the bodies of those who died in the deluge were driven towards that place : the second, that it is derived from an Hebrew word which signifies, to shake out ; intimating

^f Watson's apology for the Bible, letter 6.

that by the decision of God, the inhabitants of the earth were driven into different parts of the globe.^s This latter opinion I should chiefly prefer, because it was from this country that the people were scattered over the face of the earth after the confusion of tongues.

But though the derivation be doubtful, yet there can be no doubt, respecting the situation of the land of Shinar, to any one who consults Wells' sacred Geography, Part I. C. iv. I shall therefore make an abstract of what he says upon the subject.

"As to the land of Shinar, thereby is meant the valley, along which runs the river Tigris, and that, probably, till it falls into the sea. It is plain from Scripture, that Babel was the same with the city Babylon; and it is not to be doubted but that Erech was the same with the city Arracca, mentioned by Ptolemy and other ancient writers. Now Moses says expressly, that Babel and Erech lay in the land of Shinar, Gen. x. 10. It may, therefore, be very probably inferred, that by the land of Shinar was denoted all the valley, along which the river Tigris runs from the mountains of Armenia northwards, to the Persian gulf.

And as it was into this country that the Jews were taken captive, so the treasures which Nebuchadnezzar took from the temple at Jerusalem were deposited in the treasure house of his God, that is, in the Tower of Babel, which was the temple of the Assyrian God, Bel. The situation of Babel, and consequently Babylon which derived its name from it, was about 62° E. L. from Ferro, that is, about 44°—20 E. L. from London; and about 32°—30 N. E."^h

This Tower of Babel, which afterwards became the temple of Bel, had its name from the well known cir-

^s Pole in loc,

^h Well's Sacred Geography.

cumstance of the confusion of tongues taking place, while it was building: for the word *Babel* signifies confusion; "*therefore is the name of it called Babel; because the Lord did there confound the language of all the earth.* (*Gen. xi. 9.*)

Of this Tower we know but little from Scripture; excepting that it was intended to be very high, and that it was built of bricks cemented together by a kind of bitumen. We must, therefore, have recourse to the very learned *Prideaux*, who has collected from different authors perhaps all that can now be known respecting it.

At the foundation it was a square of a furlong on each side: that is, half a mile in the whole compass. Its height was a furlong, and it consisted of eight towers built one above the other: which Towers decreasing in size, gave it the appearance of a Pyramid. The ascent was by stairs on the outside; or, as some think, by a kind of winding staircase made in the side of the outer wall.

The eight Towers were each 75 feet high, and in them were many great rooms supported by pillars. All which were made parts of the temple, after the tower was consecrated to the idolatrous use of worshipping *Bel*. The highest story was the most sacred, for there the chief rites were performed. On the top of all was an observatory for astronomical purposes; and hence the *Babylonians* were the most famous of all ancient nations for their skill in the most sublime science of Astronomy.

The temples of the heathens were many of them rich almost beyond our belief, on account of the nu-

! *Prid. anno. 570. Rollin's history of the Assyrians.*

merous gifts which were presented to them by the ignorant worshippers of false Gods ; and also because the temples being held sacred, they afforded great security to the treasures that were deposited in them. Hence we find that Hannibal, when in Crete among the Gortynians, pretended to lodge his treasure in the temple of Diana, in the presence of the Gortynians ; that the sanctity of the place might give security to his wealth. ^k

It is well known what numerous and rich presents were sent to the oracles, either as fees to the Priests, or as presents to be laid up in the temple of the God. And so great was the wealth of the temple of Bel, in the time of Xerxes, consisting of golden images, sacred utensils, and other things of a like nature, that Prideaux reckons it to have been about 42 Millions of our money.

The sacred vessels of the temple at Jerusalem would be deposited by Nebuchadnezzar in this temple, to give honour to his God, as having given him victory over the Jews, and power to despoil their temple : they would also remain as memorials of his triumphs, and as proofs of the great success of his arms. And as he enriched this temple with Jewish spoil, so, there can be no doubt, he would also enrich it with the spoils of other nations which he conquered.

Who or what Bel, the great God of the Babylonians, was, is not agreed upon among the learned ; nor indeed is it easy to determine : The two principal opinions are, that he was Nimrod, the founder of the Babylonian empire ; or that Bel, signifies the heavens : that is, the mixture of fire, light, and air throughout the Solar system, by which, as instruments, the great

^k Nepes' life of Hannibal.

operations of nature are carried on.

In confirmation of the first opinion, we have the authority of Vossius and Prideaux, and other eminent Men: in support of the latter, there is the authority of Parkhurst, Hutchinson, and those of his school.

Prideaux says¹, "*Bel* or *Baal*, which is the same name, signifieth *Lord*; and Nimrod a rebel, in the Jewish and Chaldean languages: the former was his (Nimrod's) Babylonish name by reason of his empire in that place, and the latter his scripture name, by reason of his rebellion in revolting from God to follow his own wicked designs."

Of this opinion also are others, who say that *Bel*, or *Baal*, was the same as the Nimrod of the scriptures; and that he is the ancient Mars of the Heathen.^m

In opposition to this, stands the opinion of Hutchinson, who says; "*Bel*, in the Babylonish language, was the name of their principal idol; and *Baal*, in the Hebrew language, the name of theirs; and the same idol, and each in each language, and in several others, is the name of the heavens, or great light."ⁿ

Similar to this is the opinion of Junius; who states, that he chiefly regards the opinion of those, who hold, that *Bel* among the Assyrians, Persians and Babylonians, was the sun; because that, as *Bel*, was their chief idol, and that also as the worship of the sun or fire was their chief worship, therefore, *Bel* was the idol, or representative of the sun, or fire.^o

As all agree that the great object of adoration among the Babylonians was the sun, or fire; and as the scriptures represent *Bel* as their great Idol; it seems

¹ Prid. B. 2. p. 100.

^m Lib. 1. C. 16. De Idololatia.

ⁿ Essay, P. 88. 24. Ed.

^o Bel. idem.

See Banier's Mythol. L. 3. C. 3.

most reasonable to infer, that Bel did not represent Nimrod, but the Sun: And therefore I should prefer the opinion of Hutchinson and Junius, *on this point*, to that of Prideaux.

After Nebuchadnezzar had conveyed the captive Jews to Babylon, like a wise and politick prince, he conceived the design of making some of them useful in the highest offices of the state; and to attach them to his person and government. For a great prince not only conquers, but endeavours to make the vanquished forget that they are conquered. He unites them to his empire, and makes them feel its benefits; well knowing that self interest will bind men to him much more than fear will retain them subject to his power.

Hence it is that Cyrus, whom Xenophon meant as a model for princes, is generally represented as uniting those whom he conquered, in stronger ties to himself, than those by which ordinary allies are bound, because of the benefits he conferred upon them.

Nebuchadnezzar, therefore, commanded Ashpenaz^p the governor of the palace to select some from among the Jews, who were most likely, from capacity and person, to be useful in the administration of his government. And hereby was fulfilled the prophecy which Isaiah had predicted (xxxix. 7.) above one hundred years before to Hezekiah, when he told him: "*And of thy Sons that shall issue from thee—shall they take away; and they shall be Eunuchs in the palace of the king of Babylon.*"

The orders which the king gave Ashpenaz are worthy of attention; because in some respects they are a lesson to princes; and they also illustrate the manners of the Babylonian court. Those whom he was

^p Dan. i. 3.

to select, were to be of a handsome appearance, free from bodily defect, and graceful in their persons. So that we see in all ages, royalty has loved to be attended by those whose appearance is commanding. The guards of the princes of Modern Europe are generally select; and exhibit, both in their persons and dress, a dignity and grandeur beyond what is common. Nor is this merely shew, but sound policy; for kings ought to be surrounded with circumstances which tend to produce awe, as well as respect. The bulk of mankind should not approach too near to royalty; since familiarity produces contempt.

But dignity of person is but a poor endowment, if greatness of mind be wanting: Ashpenaz was therefore to select those who had both united in themselves. For, although elegance of person be not necessary for an officer of state, yet great qualities of mind should ever be held as absolutely necessary. Were Monarchs to choose their Ministers according to the endowments of their minds, and not according to personal partialities or family regards, they would govern to better effect, and give more general satisfaction to their subjects. Kings should employ Talents wherever they can find them; and reward merit for services performed, and not the ignorant and idle, who neither have done nor ever will do service to the state.

Men, who occupy the great offices of state, should be of an enlarged mind; and ought to enjoy the advantages of a liberal education: their knowledge should not only be general, but particular, in the laws, customs, and manners of their own nation. Hence Nebuchadnezzar ordered the young Jews, whom Ashpenaz should select, to be taught "*the learning and the tongue of the Chaldeans.*"^q

^q Dan. I. 4.

Though the people who inhabit the country about Babylon were anciently called Chaldeans, yet, in the times of Daniel, they were more a sect of learned men than a people. In proof of this opinion, it may be sufficient to say that, in the times of Daniel, they were spoken of as a sect, for when Nebuchadnezzar (*Dan.* ii. 2.) wished to have his dream, which he had forgotten, told and explained to him, he “*commanded to call the Magicians, and the Astrologers, and the Sorcerers, and the Chaldeans, for to shew the king his dreams.*” In like manner in (*Dan.* iv. 7.) the Chaldeans are spoken of as a sect of wise men, who *understood*, or at least pretended to understand, the interpretation of dreams.

The Chaldeans, therefore, at this time were men who studied some particular branches of knowledge ; as we now sometimes say, the Mathematicians, when we mean men who particularly study the Mathematics.

What it was which they studied, we find from Isaiah; and from various sources in prophane history. Astrology or the pretending to know events from the situations and phases of the Planets, and heavenly bodies, was the great object of their pursuit. Isaiah, (xlvii. 1—13) therefore, in ridicule of this silly study, says ; “*Let now the Astrologers, the Star gazers, the monthly prognosticators, (by the phases of the moon), stand up and save thee from those things that shall come upon thee.*” And these words he addresses to Babylon, the daughter of the Chaldeans: so, that in fact, a Chaldean, and an Astrologer became synonymous.

As for the language of the Chaldees, it was a dialect of the Hebrew: For the ancient Chaldee, says Parkhurst, (pref. to Chaldee grammar,) “as to external

form, differs not more from the Hebrew than the modern Spanish from the Latin, or even than the Doric from the Attic or Ionic dialect in Greek."

But though the Chaldeans studied Astrology, yet, as we have shewn, they were also great Astronomers; and in this instance their studies were not only honourable but highly beneficial. It is, also, more than probable, that they were men of general knowledge; and would therefore, be well acquainted with the arts and sciences most in use at that time in Babylon. The interpretation of dreams was also a particular part of their study; for, after the young Jews had finished their Chaldean education, it is particularly said of Daniel (I. 17.) that he had "*understanding in all visions and dreams.*"

In bringing up these young men in this manner, Nebuchadnezzar merely regarded himself and empire; but divine providence had other designs as well as these in view: For God made use of Daniel for the particular honour of his name, and the good of his people, as we shall see in these dissertations. Indeed a particular providence has always watched over the Jews: for who can read the lives of Joseph, Daniel, and Esther, without being convinced, that God did fix them in their situations to preserve the lives of his people, and to convince the heathen that he is the only God.

After Ashpenaz had received Daniel and his three companions, Hananiah, Mishaal and Azariah, under his care, he changed their names. This he did, to assimilate them the more to his own country and people; and because Hebrew names sounded strange to the ears of Chaldeans: As we often find, that French or Swiss families have their names pronounced more like the English, when they come to settle in England. This custom of changing names was also very ancient;

for Pharaoh (*Gen.* xli. 45.) changed the name of Joseph, after he had explained his dreams, into Zaphnath-paaneah, that is, the revealer of secrets.

The names given to Daniel and his companions had a particular reference to the idol Gods of the Babylonians, as is evident from (*Dan.* iv. 8.), where Nebuchadnezzar says; “ *But at the last Daniel came in before me, whose name was Belteshazzar, according to the name of my God.* ” But it is not easy to determine the ideal meaning of their names, I shall, therefore, sub-join below what is said respecting them.^r

In concluding this dissertation, it may be proper to remark that, though Daniel was most highly favoured of God, yet it was necessary for him to study diligently in order to attain a knowledge of the Chaldean language: which shews us, that no natural, nor even supernatural gifts will supersede the necessity of due application to our pursuits. Those who mean, or wish to be eminent, must all take one road; which is, the road of study and constant application. God did indeed give the gift of tongues to the apostles, because of the necessity of the case, and for a proof of a divine agency in them: but, in the case of Daniel, we see the general will of providence, which is, that we should employ the talent he gives in order to obtain more.

And as this holds good with respect to our common pursuits, so also is it the same in our religious. And hence it is that the Christian grows in grace, and reaches forward to perfection, so as to be daily acquiring more of that mind which was in Christ Jesus.

^r Belteshazzar, i. e. The keeper of the treasure, or mysteries of Bel. Shadrack, i. e. The Inspiration of the Sun. Meshack, i. e. He who is dedicated to the Goddess Shac, or Shaca; who was the Goddess of festivity, and supposed to be the earth. Abednego, i. e. The Servant of the resplendent fire. See Pole in loco.

HORÆ PROPHETICÆ:
OR
DISSERTATIONS
ON
THE BOOK OF
THE
PROPHET DANIEL.

551

[illegible]

Dissertation

2.

CHAPTER 1. *Vs.* 8—21.

WHEN men are employed in the pursuit of knowledge, it is of great consequence to them, that their minds should be at ease with respect to other things, and that they should feel secure of all the necessities of life. A life of care and anxiety, as well as of luxury and ease, is necessarily prejudicial to literary pursuits. And though there have been some instances of men making a great progress in certain parts of learning amidst poverty and surrounded with obstacles to their pursuits, yet these particular cases will never invalidate the general rule.

Upon this principle, therefore, of the mind being free from care and anxiety, Nebuchadnezzar commanded that the young men who were to be educated for purposes of state, should be fed from his own table, and should eat and drink such things as he himself did.* This he did, no doubt, from principles of po-

* It is, perhaps, impossible to ascertain the *exact* kind of food and wine which Nebuchadnezzar eat and drank; though we may give a general description of the productions of the country around Babylon. The Palm flourished naturally all over this land, and chiefly that of the date kind; which afforded them food, wine, and honey. The

licity, and also of kindness; that they might be stimulated to exertion in their studies, and attached to his person from motives of gratitude and affection. As captives, the Jews would feel dispirited; they would therefore need a particular attention from the king, to give vigour to their minds, and energy to their exertions.

The food which Nebuchadnezzar eat, and the wine which he drank, was of the most exquisite kind, and therefore unfit for students; because it would tend to make them too attentive to animal gratification, and more solicitous about the pleasures of the palate than the improvement of the mind. While, therefore, there is some reason to praise his kindness for his attention to the young men, and his policy in making their minds easy, with respect to their *supply* of food, yet his judgment was wrong with respect to its *kind*. Voluptuous living enervates the mind as well as body; and, therefore, we generally find that the greatest scholars have been men of abstemious habits, and sober manners.

However kindly, therefore, the king intended, yet Daniel, and his three companions Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego, determined not to defile themselves with the king's victuals. Now, to perceive the propriety of their conduct in this instance, it will be necessary to consider the reasons of it, and how the king's meat could defile them.

Now it might defile them, first, by inciting them

Vine, the Olive, and the Fig tree were not here of the best sort. For grain it exceeded all other land; the Millet and the Sesame shot up here in the size of trees, and the leaves of the Barley and the Wheat, were usually four fingers broad. The Sesame afforded them oil instead of the Olive; and the Palm, instead of the grape, afforded them wine. Herod. L. 1 C. 193.

to intemperance, and hence prevent their advancement in learning. We have already hinted at this; but it is a subject of such great importance to all those who are in early life, and are preparing for situations of trust and importance, that it may be necessary to say a little more upon it.

The union of mind and body, though inexplicable in its mode, is yet, we well know, of such a nature, that those practices which injure the body, also enervate the mind. Intemperance produces a momentary flow of spirits, and exuberance of wit, occasionally, it is true; but this is generally succeeded by languor and incapacity for close application. One night's undue mirth and jollity will often destroy the inclination, and even the physical power of attention to study for a week. But occasional excesses, though highly injurious, are not so destructive to habits of industry, as a life of soft indulgence and regular voluptuousness; and upon this ground, principally, it is necessary to caution the student, lest he should prevent his improvement, whilst it is not easy to charge him directly with vice. Many young men at College are exceedingly moral, in the general sense of the word, whose improvement is very limited, because of their effeminate habits, and regular indulgence in the refinements of life. Their manners are delicate, and behaviour polite; but their minds are destitute of vigour, or expansion; they wish to possess knowledge, but have not courage to encounter the fatigue of acquiring it.

In the refusal of Daniel, therefore, to live delicately, we may mark a great as well as a pious mind; for religious considerations would operate to prevent him from eating of the king's victuals. The law of Moses forbade the eating of many things, which were es-

teemed delicacies by the heathen ; as a Jew, therefore, Daniel could not eat any thing that was unclean, or which that law prohibited. Now in the luxurious diet of the King of Babylon, there would be many things which Daniel could not conscientiously eat; and, therefore, he purposed in his heart not to defile himself. So that we see, Daniel was of firm piety from his youth; his attachment to the true God, and his law, was from principle, not from mere feeling; and, therefore, it remained unshaken either by prosperity or adversity.

But as the food which Nebuchadnezzar sent from his own table had been blessed in the name of an Idol, or false God, it would, therefore, be particularly obnoxious to Daniel, who knew there was but one God. The custom of begging a blessing upon victuals, and of consecrating a part to their Gods, was very general among idolatrous nations; [†] but as Daniel would not worship the false Gods of the Babylonians, every thing consecrated to them, or blessed in their name, which constituted a part of their worship, would be unclean to him, and therefore it would be contrary to his conscience to eat of it. To eat of things consecrated to idols was in effect to acknowledge the idol as a Deity, and therefore the Apostles (*Acts*, xv. 29.) determined that the first Christians should “*abstain from meats offered to idols* ;” and, for the same reason,

[†] It would be easy to illustrate this at great length; but, let a few particulars suffice. It was customary to place the statues of the Gods upon the table. The Pagans offered libations to their Gods upon the tables. They had so deep a sense of the divine Providence, that they thought it unlawful to eat till they had offered a part of their provision, as a sort of first fruits, to their Gods. When the entertainment was ended, a libation of wine with a prayer was offered, and a hymn sung to the Gods.

Potter's Gre. Ant. v, 2. P. 365—420.

Daniel and his friends determined to abstain from the meat and the wine of the king.

But though Daniel had determined not to defile himself, yet one cannot avoid marking the great propriety of his conduct in refusing the king's meat.

The king wished the Captives to look well in health, and expected that, from eating of his food, they would answer his wishes: but how could they thrive in health when their minds were uneasy, and they could not from conscience eat of the diet which he had appointed them? Every one knows that, to be well in health, we must have a contented mind. Daniel, therefore, applied to Ashpenaz for a change of victuals, but without success. Nebuchadnezzar was an absolute monarch, his word was law, he had appointed the mode in which the young students should be treated, and, therefore, Ashpenaz durst not alter it, though an improper mode for them.

But Daniel's prudent conduct had made him a favourite, as Joseph's did with Potiphar, and afterward with the keeper of the prison into which he was cast. Daniel could, therefore, take the liberty of urging his request; and though he failed with Ashpenaz, yet he succeeded with the Steward,* who acted under him. Not that he wished to disappoint the wishes of the king, but to fulfil them: for he well knew that the food which was agreeable to them would tend more to make their countenances look fair and plump, than that which was unpleasant, however luxurious.

* Our translation gives the word Melzar as a proper name; I would prefer its being translated, Steward, which it is known it may signify. Buxtorf translates Melzar, by *Promus*. i. e. A Steward, or one who takes care of the provisions: Though he allows that it is commonly considered as a proper name.

He, therefore, proposed to the Steward to give him and his friends ten days trial of a vegetable diet, feeling confident in the success of the event; but willing to acquiesce in the Steward's decision, if the success should fail. The success of the experiment was complete; for at the end of the ten days, "*their countenances appeared fairer and fatter in flesh than all the children which did eat the portion of the king's meat.*" "

Various causes would concur to make the experiment successful: their minds would be at ease; a particular providence watched over them; and the diet itself was better adapted to their constitution, and more likely from its own nature to promote their health. Much animal food and high seasoned dishes necessarily tend to clog the powers of both body and mind; and hence it is, that the most eminent Physicians generally recommend a simple diet, and blame the English for too great attention to their eating and drinking. And, if much animal food be prejudicial in this northern climate, much more so would it be in the warm region of Babylon. Daniel's conduct, therefore, we see was directed not less by sound reason than by piety; and though at this time only about eighteen years of age, yet he possessed the prudence and knowledge of much riper years. And would

" Mr. Park, in the account of his travels into the interior of Africa, gives a remarkable statement of the method by which the Moors fatten their daughters. "The Moors have singular ideas of feminine perfection.—With them corpulency and beauty appear to be terms nearly synonymous —In consequence of this prevalent taste for unwieldiness of bulk, the Moorish Ladies take great pains to acquire it early in life: And for this purpose many of the young girls are compelled by their Mothers to devour a great quantity of Kouskous (a dish prepared from boiled corn,) and drink a large bowl of Camel's milk every morning. This practice soon covers the young Lady with that degree of plumpness which, in the eye of a Moor, is perfection itself." Park's trav. P. 228.

young men imitate his conduct in their mode of living, so far as is proper, considering difference of circumstances, they would reap the advantage in the improvement of their minds, the vivacity of their spirits, and the esteem of all good men.

As it was evident to the Steward that a vegetable diet was best for Daniel and his friends, he no longer offered them any other, but permitted them to live after the manner they chose. And now being perfectly at ease with respect to their diet, they prosecuted their studies to the utmost advantage; for *"God gave them knowledge and skill in all learning and wisdom. And Daniel had understanding in all visions and dreams."*

This superiority of knowledge which Daniel and his friends possessed must not be attributed to themselves alone, but to that particular providence which blessed them in the prosecution of their studies. As a general rule, it may be said, that our improvement in knowledge depends upon our industry in the use of our natural faculties: there is however not a doubt, but God, on particular occasions, gives particular success; and though one would hardly dare to say that a Newton had a divine inspiration, because it has not been revealed to us, yet it is not inconsistent with holy writ to suppose it; for Bezaleel and Aholiab, (*Ex. xxxi. 1—6*), and Joseph and Daniel, were assisted immediately by the Spirit in the acquisition of knowledge.

In reflecting upon the character of Nebuchadnezzar, we evidently see that he was, what is called a great prince. His designs were grand; and he well knew how to obtain fit and able men to serve in the offices of state. When, therefore, the three years of prepar-

ation were expired, he examined the young men who had been pursuing their studies, but found none equal to Daniel and his three friends; and them, therefore, he appointed to stations of the highest importance.

He did not take them upon the recommendation of friends, or because of family connections, a practice too prevalent in courts; but because they passed the best examination, and were best qualified for office. Examinations answer a double purpose; they stimulate industry, and make young men anxious to obtain knowledge; and they give an opportunity of discovering those who are best qualified to occupy situations which require particular ability. Any system of education which does not embrace frequent examinations must be defective; for progress in literature does not depend so much upon the *quantity* read, as upon the *accuracy* of our knowledge in what we read. Many men are ignorant because they read so much; their minds are like a heap of ruins without order or regularity; while the mind of the regular student is like an exquisitely finished temple, which fills us with awe by its magnitude, and delights with the harmony of its proportions.

Men of supereminent minds are soon public characters; mankind feel a kind of common right in them, and hence their fame spreads in proportion to the extent of their knowledge. Daniel's fame soon spread over all the East, so that it was thought presumption, as appears from (*Ezek. xxviii. 3.*) for the wisest and most powerful princes to compare with him. As he possessed a mind elevated far above the level of mankind, they considered him as an object of wonder and admiration: they viewed him, as the benighted traveller views a huge blazing Beacon which gives the light of day to the immediate neighbourhood, and sheds a solemn light to a vast distance all around.

As Daniel's knowledge and abilities fitted him for the highest offices, so we find he possessed them to a very advanced age; for he *"continued even unto the first year of king Cyrus."*

After Babylon had been taken by Cyrus, and he and his uncle Cyaxares, (who is called *Dan. v. 31.* Darius the Median), had arranged the government of the Empire, Daniel was made chief minister of state (*Dan. vi. 2, 3, .*). Cyrus knew his wisdom and experience, and therefore availed himself of them. He knew of what use he had been to the Babylonian kings; and as they were now extinct, he did not doubt his fidelity to the Medes and Persians. And as Daniel was in such high repute with Cyrus, there can be no doubt, that he urged him to grant the decree which was passed in the first year of his reign, for the restoration of the Jews from their seventy years' captivity. In the first of Cyrus, Daniel was about eighty-eight years of age; for he was eighteen when he was taken captive, which added to the seventy years which intervened between his captivity and the first of Cyrus makes eighty-eight. * Thus God preserved the life of this great and good man through all the revolutions of the state; to be the protector of his own people, and a blessing to those among whom he was a captive.

And here we may pause and reflect upon the obligations under which both princes and people are to wise ministers. No kind of honour is so exposed to envy as political; nor is any life so harassing as the man's to whom is devolved the care of government; who feels his responsibility, and has to contend with opponents. Happy is it for the world that there are men who will bear the weight of government: for the

* *Prid. an. 538. and 539.*

enjoyment of domestic quiet, it is well known, gives greater pleasure than the power and pomp of political greatness. We are too apt to suspect, that Men who are ambitious of the great offices of State, have a particular regard to the Emoluments to be derived from those offices; whereas very few of them are rich from their political situations. A sense of duty to his king and country urges many a good man to undergo the troubles of public life, who otherwise would spend his days in elegant retirement and literary ease.

Dissertation

3.

CHAPTER II. *Vs.* 1—23.

AS the providence of God is universal, and presides over all men, whatever may be their system of religion; so, he has been pleased, on particular occasions, to reveal future events to heathens, as well as to those who believed on the only one true God. But those revelations, which he has made to heathens, have generally had an especial regard to his own church and people; they appear to have been given chiefly for their advantage.

It would be easy to adduce many instances of divine revelation by dreams to those who worshipped idols; but a few may suffice for our present purpose.

The dreams of the Butler and Baker who were in the same prison with Joseph are well known; and it is also equally known, that the Egyptians were gross idolaters. But these dreams were sent of God, that Joseph might have an opportunity of interpreting them; and thence, in due time, of being introduced to Pharaoh to explain his dreams: and by that means become the prime minister of Egypt, and the preserver of his father and family.

But the case of Pharaoh's dreams is still more in

point; for Joseph told him before he explained them, (*Gen. xli. 25*) “ *God hath shewed Pharaoh what he is about to do,* ” evidently describing the dreams as supernatural. There is also a striking instance of divine interference in the history of Alexander the Great; who, when at Dion in Macedonia meditating upon his Persian war, saw in a dream some years before the event, the Jewish High Priest coming to him in that manner in which it is known he did come to him at Sapha; and by that means averted the evils which Alexander intended to inflict upon the Jews. †

It would be unnecessary to adduce the instance of Nebuchadnezzar's dream, were it not that Daniel says to the king (*C. ii. 28*); “ *But there is a God in heaven that revealeth secrets, and maketh known to the king Nebuchadnezzar what shall be in the latter days;* ” plainly declaring that his dream of the image was from God.

Now, though we readily admit, that dreams in general arise from causes perfectly natural; yet these instances shew, that they are sometimes supernatural. Nor can any valid reason be assigned, why there may not be supernatural dreams at the present day, as well as in the times of Nebuchadnezzar.

I would be as cautious as possible, of giving any cause for a superstitious regard to dreams, which in general arise from what the mind has been engaged about during the day, or from the habit of the body; but still occasions may occur, in which the deity may, and I have no doubt does instruct “ *in thoughts from the visions of the night, when deep sleep falleth on man,* ” (*Job, iv. 13.*).

† *Jos. lib. xi. C. 8.*

Divine revelations have been given in very different ways, as it has pleased the Almighty, and as best suited the purposes of his providence. To Adam he communicated his will by an audible voice; so that we may observe there never was a time in which there was not a *revealed* religion; and therefore, whatever has been known of God, has been from revealed, and not from natural religion too often falsely so called.

To Abraham God was pleased to convey his will by a personal appearance of his eternal son; for since no one hath seen God at any time, nor indeed can see him, it is necessary to conclude, that he, who talked with Abraham respecting the destruction of the cities of Sodom and Gomorrah, was the word that "*was with God, and was God.*" For this person speaks as God; is addressed by Abraham as God; which no created angel would have permitted. The ministry of angels is a doctrine interwoven into all the prominent parts of the old and new testament: for God sent them to minister to his people; to convey to them his will, to reprove them for their errors, or to comfort them under their afflictions.

The manner, in which he revealed himself to Moses, is in some respects different from all these instances which we have cited; or rather, he made use of them all in his communications to him: For he spake unto him; he gave him the law "*by angels in the hand of a mediator*" (Gal. iii. 19.); and he gave him particular displays of his glory and majesty, such as would have overpowered his faculties, had he not covered him with his hand as he passed by. (Ex. xxxiii 22).

But the most perfect revelation has been made in the person of his son Jesus Christ; who, in the fulness of time, came to reveal the father, and by his

gospel to dispel the darkness of error, and shed the light of truth. But we must return to our more immediate subject, and state, lastly, that God has often revealed himself by dreams; as in the instance of Nebuchadnezzar's dream of the great image.

Now it must be remembered that the ancients paid great regard to dreams, and considered them as being often of divine origin; so much so, that Homer speaks of dreams as coming from Jupiter, and as being sent by him.

Hence he says, ^z

“ But let some prophet, or some sacred sage,
 “ Explore the cause of great Apollo's rage;
 “ Or learn the wasteful vengeance to remove
 “ By mystic dreams, *for dreams descend from Jove.*

And again, ^a he is represented as the Author of Agamemnon's vision; for he,

“ Then bids an empty phantom rise to sight,
 “ And thus commands the vision of the night.
 “ Fly hence, *deluding dream!* And light as air
 “ To Agamemnon's ample tent repair.

Virgil also, in describing the manner in which the oracle of Faunus was consulted, informs us, that the Priests in their sleep saw visions, and had dreams, which intimated to them the answers they should deliver. ^b Indeed all history both prophane and sacred proves that men have not only paid great regard to dreams, generally indeed a superstitious regard, but that on some occasions they cannot be accounted for on physical principles: And hence we infer that scepti-

^z Pope. II. 1. L. 86.

^a Pope. II. 2. L. 7—10.

^b *Æneid.* L. 7. lines 80—90.

cism is as much to be reprimanded on this subject as credulity. °

Since then dreams were of such importance among the ancients, it is not surprising that Nebuchadnezzar was anxious to know the meaning of his dream; a dream so unusual in its nature, and the effect of which had been so powerful upon his mind. But though the impression of the dream was exceedingly powerful, yet he had forgotten it; and, therefore, both to relate and explain the dream must be particularly difficult, and what a reasonable person could not expect to be done for him. But his anxiety to be informed of his dream and its explanation, is full proof, that the impression which it had made upon his mind was particularly great: and that he was satisfied there was something in it more than in an ordinary dream. And therefore, Daniel says to him (C. ii. 29.); *"As for thee, O king thy thoughts came into thy mind upon thy bed what should come to pass hereafter: and he that revealeth secrets maketh known to thee what shall come to pass."*

And, as his dream was supernatural, so also was his forgetting of it: for God not only gave him the dream but made him forget it, that his servant Daniel might have the honour of its interpretation; that his people

° Both sacred and prophane history gives many instances of dreams well worthy of attention. In Genesis (xx. 6.) we are told that God spake to Abimelech king of Gerar in a *Dream*. Jacob also had a remarkable dream when he went to Padan-Aram; a dream in which God revealed to him his future destiny. Peter's dream, or rather vision of the sheet let down from heaven is well known: And God was pleased (Acts xvi. 9.) to inform Paul, by a vision, that he should go and preach the Gospel in Macedonia, and by a vision, (Acts xviii. 9.) the Lord said to Paul, *"Be not afraid, but speak and hold not thy peace."* To these might be added many other instances equally striking and important.

the Jews might receive favour; and especially, that his own name might be exalted among the heathen. Hence Daniel says (ii. 30.); “ *This secret is not revealed to me for any wisdom that I have more than any living, but for their sakes that shall make known the interpretation to the king, and that thou mightest know the thoughts of thy heart.* ” And hence Nebuchadnezzar himself says (ii. 47.); “ *Of a truth it is that your God is a God of Gods, and a Lord of Kings, and a revealer of secrets, seeing thou couldst reveal this secret.* ”

But as Nebuchadnezzar knew not the true God, he therefore applied, in the spirit and manner of an idolater, to “ *the Magicians, and the Astrologers, and the Sorcerers, and the Chaldeans,* ” for his dream and its interpretation. Now, though all these professed the art of interpreting dreams, yet they pursued their art in different ways; for dreams among the ancients, were divided into different classes, and those, whose profession it was to interpret them, had a name according to the class they professed to explain, and the manner of their explaining it. Among the Greeks there were three principal classes; the first was called Chrematismos, when the Gods or Spirits in their own, or under any assumed form, conversed with men in their sleep; the second, Orama, wherein the images of things which are to happen are plainly represented in their own shape and likeness; and the third was called Oneiros, in which future events are revealed by types and figures. In this third class may be ranked Nebuchadnezzar’s dream. Now, according to this three fold division, there were three principal kinds of interpreters; first, the Oneirokritai, so called from *judging of dreams*; second, the Oneiroskopoi, from *prying and looking into them*; and third, the Oneiro-

palei, because they were conversant about them. In like manner, the Magicians, the Astrologers, the Sorcerers, and the Chaldeans, had different names from the different manner in which they pursued their art.

The Magicians were they who pretended to cast nativities; that is, to predict the events of a person's life from the position and configuration of the heavenly bodies, at the moment of his birth. And, in making their calculations, they generally retired into secret corners; and in delivering their predictions, as well as in ascertaining what they should deliver, they peeped and muttered through certain apertures. And hence, herethum, Magicians, is by some derived from two words, hēr, which signifies a hole, and thum, to close up; because they made their incantations, and muttered through obstructed passages or chinks. That this was the practice of some diviners is certain, not only from what is known of some, who pretend to divination even in modern times among Christian nations as well as among the Savage Barbarians, but also from (*Isaiah*, viii. 19.) where the prophet says, " *And when they shall say unto you, seek unto them that have familiar Spirits, and unto wizards that BEEP and that MUTTER: should not a people seek unto their God?* "

The Astrologers had their name from a different method of divination: for their business was to take notice of the heavenly bodies during twilight, when a gentle fresh wind frequently blows: And hence they were called Aspem, from Nesap to breathe, not only because of the gentle gale that breathes at twilight,

* See Potter's Grec. An. v. 1. p. 303.

* Buxtorf.

but perhaps because of the inspiration, or *inflatus*, they pretended to obtain. ^f

As for the Sorcerers, they were persons who, by certain magical processes brought forward the appearance of a dead person, or some wicked spirit, to give answers to the questions they should propose.

Of this species of divination we have a remarkable instance in the case of the witch of Endor, who, at Saul's request, brought up the appearance of Samuel. It was indeed a very common mode of divination among idolatrous nations; and was practised by the learned Greeks and warlike Romans, as well as by those whom they considered as Barbarians. ^g

These Sorcerers, of whom we now treat, were called *Mekešpim*, from *kešep*, which signifies to discover, or reveal; but the word in scripture is always applied in a bad sense to some method of conjuring, every species of which the law of God, particularly condemns. ^h

We have already, in the first Dissertation, explained the name and the learning of the Chaldeans, we shall not therefore repeat what has been already said respecting them.

But we must return to Nebuchadnezzar, and consider the interview he had with these fortune tellers;

^f Buxtorf and Parkhurst.

^g "Sometimes they used to raise the Ghost of deceased persons, by various invocations and ceremonies. Ulysses in the ninth Book of Homer's *Odyssey*, having sacrificed black Sheep in a ditch, and poured forth certain libations, invites the Ghosts, particularly that of Tiresias, to drink of the blood; after which they become willing to answer his questions. The like is done by Tiresias in Statius; by Œson in Valerius Flaccus, and by Nero, in Pliny." Potter's *Grec. Ant.* B. 2. C. 18.

^h Buxtorf and Parkhurst.

for I cannot think they deserved a better name. As an absolute prince he felt himself above all controul, and possessing the lives and fortunes of his subjects at his own disposal: He therefore demanded of them to explain a dream which he could not relate; for which, if they did it, he would grant them great rewards, but if they did not, he threatened them with immediate death. And who cannot, from such an instance as this, see the great, the infinite advantage of a government founded on law, and not on the will and pleasure of an individual? No man, however excellent his character, should be trusted with absolute power in a state; and though a dictator, on some rare occasions, may have been necessary, yet this can never hold good as a general rule; for the wisest and the best prince may err, and determine according to passion and not reason, and therefore ought not to be trusted with unlimited power. But though Nebuchadnezzar possessed such power, yet this did not prevent the Chaldeans from requesting him, in Syriac, to tell them the dream, for otherwise it was utterly unreasonable to expect its interpretation.

The Syriac language was very similar both to the Hebrew and the Chaldean;^b and it is probable that it was the learned language of the times. In addressing the king, therefore, in this language, they assumed an air of secrecy and importance, and endeavoured to give consequence to their proceedings; a thing which conjurers in general do.

^a "Necessarium vero est, lingue Hebraicæ præcepta callere, antequam ad Chaldaicæ vel Syriacæ cognitionem se quis accingat, post jacta vero Hebraica fundamenta, brevi in Chaldaea et Syriaca magnos progressus faciet, adeo ut miretur se tam esse doctum antequam didicit, et nota fertur regione viarum."

Walton's Introduction to the reading of the Oriental languages.

Nothing could be more difficult than the situation in which the Magicians and Sorcerers were placed, for both their art and life were now at stake; and therefore, they confess, that none could shew the king his dream, "*except the Gods, whose dwelling is not with flesh,*" It was of great importance that this declaration should be extorted from them; for after the thing had been shewn by Daniel, who attributed his knowledge to the true God, they would then have an opportunity of seeing that the God of the Hebrews was the *only* God. The Jews were under a foreign yoke, and their enemies had triumphed over them; but still God remembered his covenant which he had made with their forefathers, and therefore, he was determined to honour his people among the heathen, by enabling Daniel to interpret and unfold what all the wise men of Babylon confessed themselves unable to disclose or explain.

But as Nebuchadnezzar could not obtain from his wise men any answer, he soon became exasperated, and charged them with preparing lying and corrupt words "*till the time be changed,*" and, that they might "*gain the time,*" This gaining of the time is generally interpreted, of their making as much delay as possible, till the king became indifferent to the matter, and not anxious about its explanation. But I should rather suppose that it refers to some acknowledged principle in the interpretation of dreams; so, that unless an answer was obtained in a certain time after the dream, no answer could be demanded. But however this may be, they were not able to divert the king from his purpose; and as they could not give him any answer that was satisfactory, he became "*very furious and commanded to destroy all the wise men of Babylon.*"

The matter is now brought to its greatest crisis, and we shall have to contemplate Daniel's consummate prudence, sincere piety, and above all, his firm faith.

Daniel was not sent for among the wise men, for at this time his education could be but just completed; for the time allotted to it was to be full three years, and as he entered upon his studies in 606 B. C. and Nebuchadnezzar had his dream in 608 B. C. it follows that Daniel would not be considered, at this time, as a person properly qualified for so great a matter.

But as he and his companions were taught all the learning of the Chaldees, and were of the class of wise men, they also were involved in the decree, and made liable to its punishment. It was, therefore, necessary to make a great exertion both for their own safety, and the lives of those with whom they had been connected in studies and discipline. Daniel, therefore, addressed himself to Arioch, the officer, to whom the execution of the decree was entrusted, and asked him, "*Why is the decree so hasty from the king?*" Neither Daniel nor his companions had been called upon by the king; it was, therefore, unjust that they should be involved in the decree: and also by not calling them the king had not ascertained whether his dream might not be explained to him. Daniel, therefore, having discovered from Arioch the cause of the decree, and knowing that the king's great desire was to have his dream explained, went with confidence to him, and promised to interpret it to him, if he would grant him time.

This promise he made in that Spirit of faith, with which David went against Goliath with a sling and a stone, and of which faith holy writ speaks in such

praise. He knew that the God he served not only could, but would interpose for his own name's sake, and for the good of his people; and therefore he hesitated not to engage to tell, and explain to the king his dream.

That he felt confident, not in his own wisdom, but in the divine interposition, is evident from his conduct; for he, and his companions Hananiah, Mishael, and Azariah, betook themselves to earnest prayer, that the God of heaven would shew them mercy in revealing to them the secret, and thereby preserve their lives.

Whoever considers how much the duty of prayer is enjoined, and how much it has been practised by all good men in all ages, must be convinced, that it is not less our duty than our interest to be instant in prayer. The very exercise of the duty prepares our minds for the reception of what we need, and hence God revealed the secret unto Daniel in a *night vision*.

The same vision, or dream, which the king had seen, was represented to the mind of Daniel by a divine operation, for the father of Spirits can operate upon our spirits when and as he pleases. And though Nebuchadnezzar had forgotten his dream in the first instance, yet its impression was so great, that when Daniel told the dream to him, he would immediately recognize it to be the same which he himself had dreamed.

It is too common, when men have discovered any thing new or interesting, to feel elated, and to ascribe the glory of their discoveries solely to themselves; but, it was not so with Daniel; for as he had sought and obtained the divine assistance to unfold the dream, so he forgot not to express his gratitude to his God,

In the hour of adversity most men will cry for help from God; their fears are powerful to drive them to their knees; but when they are delivered, they rarely feel gratitude sufficient to make any particular acknowledgement of the blessings they have received. But Daniel was as eminent for piety as for wisdom; for after he obtained the knowledge of the secret, he blessed the God of heaven, and said; "*I thank thee, and praise thee, O thou God of my fathers, who hast given me wisdom and might, and hast made known unto me now what we desired of thee: for thou hast made known unto us the king's matter.*"

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CHAPTER II. Ps. 24-29.

IN the economy of divine providence it often happens, that God permits those whom he means to deliver, to be reduced to the utmost extremity of distress, and to suffer all the anxiety of despair. He purposes to display his power and goodness in protecting them; but he suffers them to feel their own inability to extricate themselves, that they may be led more immediately to acknowledge his hand. This was eminently the case with the Jews, when, by means of Haman's malice, they were brought to the very point of a general massacre. The edict had gone forth, preparations were made for their complete destruction, and the gallows is prepared for Mordecai; but at that very moment God interposes for his people; Haman is hung upon the Gallows; the enemies of the Jews are discomfited, and they themselves (*Esther* 9.) have light, and gladness, and joy, and honour.

So also the edict had gone forth that the wise men of Babylon should be put to death; "*and they sought Daniel and his fellows to be slain:*" But God heard the prayers of Daniel and his fellows; he revealed the dream of the king to his servant, and hence gave

him an opportunity of being the deliverer of others as well as of himself and particular friends. Nor have good men any greater pleasure than in being the instruments of doing good to others; for true piety not only prompts to acts of benevolence, but gives a secret and refined pleasure in the doing of them. Hence, therefore, Daniel hastened to Arioch, who had been appointed to execute Nebuchadnezzar's bloody decree of slaying the wise men of Babylon, and said to him, (ii, 24.) *"Destroy not the wise men of Babylon: bring me in before the king; and I will shew unto the king the interpretation."* His anxiety was not merely to save his own life, but the lives of men who did not believe in the true God; and hence to shew, that true piety incites us to relieve others in distress, however their religious creed may differ from our own.

But though good men may have the opportunity of doing acts of kindness to others, yet they do not, on that account, arrogate praise to themselves; but attribute glory to him, who gives them the opportunity of reducing their benevolent wishes to real instances of charity. Hence therefore, when Nebuchadnezzar with surprise, and perhaps with doubt, asked Daniel if he could make known his dream and its interpretation, he replied: *"There is a God in heaven that revealeth secrets—But as for me, this secret is not revealed to me for any wisdom that I have more than any living, but for their sakes that shall make known the interpretation to the king, and that thou mightest know the thoughts of thy heart."*

As the minds of all men are subject to the direction of the Deity, so we find that when he is about to perform some signal act of divine interposition, he prepares their minds both for its reception and accomplishment. When God was pleased to interfere for

the deliverance of the Jews from the cruelty of Haman and for the honour of his servant Mordecai, he produced a restlessness in the mind of Ahasuerus, so that he could not sleep, (*Esther* vi. 1—14.). He therefore commanded that they should bring the book, in which the most remarkable events of his reign were recorded, and read to him. In their reading they came to that instance of Mordecai's fidelity to the king, by which he had saved him from Assassination by Bigthana and Terish, two of his chamberlains, and for which he had received no reward. This neglect, therefore, of Mordecai is not to be considered merely as accidental, but as a link in that great chain of providence by which the Jews obtained so signal a deliverance. The king was not permitted to reward Mordecai, till the time came, in which his reward would benefit not only himself, but his whole nation. And as the greatest events often arise from causes almost imperceptible; so we find, this deliverance of the Jews may be traced up to so small a cause as Ahasuerus' not being able to sleep on that night, in which Haman had prepared a gallows for the destruction of Mordecai.

And as God was about to reveal to Nebuchadnezzar a general outline of the four great empires of the world, and of the kingdom of the Gospel; so, also, his mind was prepared for the revelation : For, (v. 29.) Daniel says to the king, "*As for thee, O king, thy thoughts came into thy mind upon thy bed what should come to pass hereafter; and he that revealeth secrets maketh known to thee what shall come to pass.*" And though it should be granted, that Nebuchadnezzar's dream was, in consequence of his anxiety to know the future fate of his empire, yet will not this at all take away any thing from the doctrine of a divine agency with respect to it. The Deity works by second causes; and

it would be less absurd to say, the Watch maker did not make the Watch, because he used the file, than to say, the dream was not of God, because Nebuchadnezzar's mind had been anxious about future events. The wishes and feelings of all men are known to God; he therefore makes use of their wishes and feelings in that manner which is best adapted to the designs of his providence.

Nebuchadnezzar's dream may be considered as a general outline of the history of the world from his time: It embraces five kingdoms, four of which are temporal, but the fifth spiritual. Following, therefore this general division, we will now consider the particulars of this remarkable dream.

But it may be necessary, first, to observe, that we shall confine ourselves to the particulars of the dream only; as the same subject will come before us in Daniel's vision of the four great beasts.

The vision which Nebuchadnezzar had, was that of a large stupendous image, (31—36.) whose head was of gold;—his breast and arms of silver;—his belly and thighs of brass;—his legs of iron; and feet part of iron and part of clay: He also saw a stone come, without any visible agency, and strike the image upon his feet, in consequence of which the image was broken in pieces, and his different parts completely destroyed; but the stone became a great mountain and filled the whole earth.

There can be no doubt, that the head of Gold represented the Babylonian Monarchy; for Daniel says, (37, 38.) *“Thou, O king, art a king of kings: for the God of heaven hath given thee a kingdom, power, and strength, and glory. And, wheresoever the children of men dwell, the beasts of the field, and the fowls*

of the heaven hath he given into thine hand, and hath made thee ruler over them all. Thou art this head of Gold."

The Babylonian empire arose out of the Assyrian, which for above thirteen hundred years had governed Asia. The weak and effeminate Sardanapalus, monarch of that mighty empire, was overthrown by the conspiracy of Arbaces governor of Media, and Belshazzar or Nabonassar governor of Babylon. Nineveh was the seat of Arbaces' empire, and Babylon the metropolis of Nabonassar's. The empires remained distinct from each other not long; for, independent of their being at times united under the same prince, in the year 612 B. C. which was 185 years after the division of the Assyrian empire, Nabopolassar, father of Nebuchadnezzar, entirely overthrew Nineveh, and hence Babylon became sole Mistress of the Empire.¹

The extent of the Babylonian empire is expressed in words of the greatest latitude; for Daniel says, "*whosoever the children of men dwell, the beasts of the field, and the fowls of the heaven, hath he given into thine hand, and hath made thee ruler over them all.*" But it may be necessary to observe, that these expressions, like many others of the same kind, both in the sacred and prophane writers, must be taken with restrictions: As (2 Kings, xix. 35.) it is said of Sennacherib's army, after the angel of the Lord had destroyed of it an hundred fourscore and five thousand men, "Behold they were all dead corpses;" that is, a vast multitude of them were dead. The Roman writers were also accustomed to call their empire, the empire of the world, and an eternal empire; and to say of Augustus. that under his auspices, the whole

¹ Prid. an. 747 and 512. App. Cæsar lib. 748.

world had been subdued to a state of peace.¹ In addition to this, it should also be remembered, that the Eastern nations had an hyperbolical way of speaking of their kings and of their power, and that Daniel addressed Nebuchadnezzar according to the style, and manner of the times and people: And, also, that the extent of the habitable parts of the globe was but little known to the ancients; and, therefore, they were led to think their dominion greater in proportion to the whole world than it actually was.

Keeping these restrictions, therefore, in view, let us now state the extent of the Babylonian empire, and we shall find that it was large and vast, and that the kingdom on account of its power and riches, was well represented by a Head of Gold. As Babylon became the seat of Empire after the destruction of Nineveh, so it held under it nearly the same countries which formed the old Assyrian empire. On the South it comprehended the large and extensive country of Arabia; on the South West, Phœnicia, Syria, Palestine and Egypt were subjected to its dominions; and on the North it extended to Armenia and Media. So great was the fame of Nebuchadnezzar, as a conqueror, that he is said to have extended his arms, not only over the kingdoms adjacent to Babylon, but to the pillars of Hercules, or the entrance into the Mediterranean sea; to have subdued the greatest part of Lybia and Spain, and from thence to have proceeded into Thrace and Pontus.¹

So extensive, therefore, was the empire of Babylon

—Tuisque

Auspiciis totum confecta duella per orbem.

Horace lib. 2. 1st Epist. L. 254.

¹ Sir I. Newton's Chron. P. 224. Ep. Newton's Dis. 13. Prid. an. 605.

in the times of Nebuchadnezzar, that in a West direction, it reached a distance of nearly four thousand miles; and in a North and South, nearly two thousand. A kingdom so large and vast must necessarily include people of various languages and manners; some parts of it must be barren and waste, while others abound in all the luxuries of life. And, as the Babylonians were great hunters, therefore Daniel describes Nebuchadnezzar's dominion as extending not only over the abodes of men, but over those wild and barren wastes which were inhabited by beasts and birds of prey; as reaching not only over the persons of men in order to subject them to his laws, but the beasts of the field and the fowls of the air, to make them subservient to his pleasure.

By considering the manners of the Babylonians it will appear, that there was a great propriety in Daniel's describing Nebuchadnezzar's empire, as extending over beasts as well as men; for among them, and their successors in empire, the Persians, it was accounted of the highest moment to be able to hunt well.^m In making use, therefore, of expressions, which denoted Nebuchadnezzar's dominion both over men and beasts, Daniel not only shewed in general the extent of his empire, but its peculiar nature and kind.

But the head of the image was of gold; this, therefore, points out the wealth and splendour of the Babylonian empire. And whether we consider the soil, the works, the trade, or the riches and spoils of conquered nations brought to Babylon, it will evidently appear, that it was to the highest degree both wealthy and splendid.

^m Apud quos (Persas) summa laus esset, fortiter venari. Corn. Nep. in vit. Alcibiades. Xenophon, Cyrop. L. 1. gives an account of a great hunt by the Babylonians, in which they were attacked by Cyrus.

The soil about Babylon was particularly fruitful: its productions were so great and abundant, as almost to appear incredible to those who had not had an opportunity of witnessing its fertility. The harvest would often yield three hundred fold, and generally two hundred. The abundance of the country around Babylon was so ample, as to furnish a third part of the supplies for the king and his armies in the time of the Persian Monarchy; and to be reckoned equivalent to a third of Asia. " No stronger proof can, therefore, be given of the richness and fertility of the soil.

How rich Babylon was in works is well known. Its walls were 350 feet high; and 87 thick; and in compass 60 of our miles.° Its gates were one hundred in number, and all made of solid brass. Here stood the temple of Belus, which contained the accumulated wealth of ages.

The gold and silver utensils which it contained were of immense value; as it held both those which had belonged to conquered countries, and those which the Babylonians themselves had made and dedicated to idolatrous uses. Several statues of solid gold were placed in it; and upon a moderate computation, it appears that it contained riches to the amount of not less than forty-two millions of our money.

The hanging gardens of Babylon, as they are called, have often been a subject of admiration. They stood upon large massy arches, and were built one upon another in the form of terraces, till the highest terrace equalled the height of the walls of the city. The mould was laid sufficiently deep for the largest trees to take root and grow; and the gardens were filled with every thing fitted for splendour and delight. p

° Herod. L. 1.

° Prid. an. 570.

p Prid. 570,

That Babylon also was rich in trade, there can be no doubt; though it is rather to be inferred from circumstances, than directly proved from any regular account which we possess of Babylonian commerce. As early as the days of Joshua, which was upwards of seven hundred years before the time of Nebuchadnezzar's dream, Babylonian garments were of great repute and value; for (Josh. vii. 21.) Achan says, "*when I saw among the spoils a goodly Babylonish garment, &c. then I coveted them, and took them.*" Now, if we consider the progress of trade, in proportion to the time; and to the increase of population and riches, which must have taken place between the times of Joshua and Nebuchadnezzar, it must be evident, that in this interval the progress and extent of trade must have been very extensive. For ages prior to the reign of Nebuchadnezzar, the garments manufactured at Babylon were in the highest estimation in the civilized world, and would, therefore, be an object of much trade and profit.

From (Rev. xviii. Ezek. xxiii.) we may clearly discover that Babylon carried on a great trade in various kinds of Jewelry, in linen, in works of Brass and Iron, in different kinds of precious wood, in vessels of gold and silver, in blue and purple garments, and in horses and chariots. Its situation was well adapted to commerce, for it stood almost in the center of the old world; and, by means of the Euphrates and Tigris it could easily export its own productions and manufactures, and as easily receive those of other countries. The manufacturing of cloth, linen, and brass, and iron, it is well known, employs in each branch a great number of men; and when we consider the extent and population of the Babylonian empire, and how much the immediate manufactures of Babylon were in

repute, we may with certainty infer, that it was rich in trade, and that it was well represented by the image's head of gold.

ii. After Daniel had explained to Nebuchadnezzar what was meant by the image's head of gold, he proceeds to explain what was intended by its breast and arms of silver; "*And after thee, says he, (v. 39.) shall arise another kingdom inferior to thee.*"

Respecting the second and third empires Daniel says but little in explanation; the first and fourth are chiefly enlarged upon, as the first was particularly connected with the church of God in his own times, and the fourth with the church in the latter ages of the world.

The kingdom represented by the breast and arms of silver was the Medo-Persian. As the parts of the image were continuous, and, like the limbs of the human body, gradually descending from the head to the feet, so these four empires were to succeed each other in close connection. There can be no doubt, therefore, of the Medo-Persian, or Persian empire, as it is generally called, being represented by the arms and breast of silver. All know that the Persian subverted the Babylonian empire, and reduced it under its power; and that Cyrus fixed the seat of government at Babylon. Between the Babylonian and Persian empires there was no intervening power; and as the empires were to succeed each other in immediate succession, the breast and arms of silver must therefore be applied to the Persian, and to no other empire.

Of the Persian empire Daniel says nothing, excepting that it was to be "*inferior*" to the Babylonian; On the due explanation of the word "*inferior*," will

depend, therefore, what at present we have to say respecting it. When we come to consider Daniel's vision of the four beasts, we shall then have to treat upon it more at large.

The word translated *inferior* is differently explained by commentators as applied to the Persian empire. Buxtorf says, *Inferius te; id est, Demissius ac humilior tuo regno*; that is, the second empire shall be inferior to and more humble than thine. The Septuagint has it, *etton sou*; according to which is the vulgar latin translation, *minus te*; that is, the second empire shall be *less* than thine: and Castalio translates it, *deterius te*; that is, worse than thou; as if Daniel alluded to the very wicked character of the Persian princes. But no word better expresses the idea meant to be conveyed than *inferior*; for in point of extent and consolidation of empire, the Persian was not less than the Babylonian; and, for the character of the Princes, it would not be easy to determine whether the Babylonian or Persian were the worse; and, in riches and splendor, the latter did not yield to the former.

But the Persian empire was *inferior* to the Babylonian, because, *it owed its splendor and riches to the Babylonian*. It was during the reign of the Babylonian princes, that those immense quantities of wealth were accumulated, and those stupendous works built, which elevated Babylon so much above other cities; and which were afterwards wasted by the ambition, the folly, or the prodigality of the Persian princes.

The Persians, before the conquest of Babylon by the united arms of Media and Persia, were a people of little note; they were poor, nor did they affect much grandeur: But, having conquered Babylon, they became possessed of all its wealth and splendor; these

they owed to the labour of the Babylonians, and not to themselves, and, therefore, in this respect they were their inferiors. The Babylonian empire was rather a continuation of the old Assyrian than a new empire; and as the Assyrian had subsisted for many ages, it was, therefore, superior to the Persian in duration and stability; for, reckoning the duration of the Persian empire, from the year in which Cyrus took Babylon, to the Death of Darius by the traitor Bessus, it was but two hundred and nine years.^a But if we consider the Babylonian as a continuation of the Assyrian empire, its duration was upwards of fifteen hundred years.

iii. But as all earthly power fluctuates, so the Persian empire was to fall before the Grecian: for after the Persian, was to arise "*another third kingdom of brass, which shall bear rule over all the earth.*" (v. 39.)

The same arguments which proved, that, by the image's arms and breast of silver, the Persian empire was signified, will also prove, that the belly and thighs of brass meant the Macedonian or Grecian. The empires, like the parts of the image, were to follow each other in immediate succession; and all know that the Greeks, under Alexander, overthrew the kingdom of Persia, and that Asia fell under the dominion of Europe. There are only two particulars instanced by Daniel respecting this empire; viz., that it was to be of Brass, i. e. that brass fitly represented it; and that its extent was to be over all the earth. Let us see, therefore, how these two particulars apply to the Grecian empire.

As brass is a metal of less value than silver, and

^a Prid. an. 330.

more employed for use than ornament, so it is made use of to designate the Grecian, which was much less splendid in exterior pomp, than the Persian empire. The princes of Persia, after the days of Cyrus, became, to the highest degree, pompous and luxurious. They affected the utmost grandeur and shew in their dress, manners, and equipage; while the Grecian chiefs, from their education, forms of government, and the spirit of liberty which pervaded their communities, and their independance of each other, were plain in their manners and appearance.

The march of Darius against Alexander had more the appearance of a grand procession than a Military expedition. There was every exhibition of ease, pomp, and luxury; while Alexander's care was, to have nothing in his army which was not adapted to use and to victory. Before the Persian army were carried silver altars attended by the Magi singing hymns, and by three hundred and sixty five youths clothed in purple. Then came a chariot, consecrated to their God,^r drawn by white horses; after this followed ten chariots ornamented with gold and silver. Next followed a body of ten thousand men, called by the Persians immortal, all adorned with golden collars, and with robes of gold tissue and covered with precious stones. After these went the king's relations most splendidly adorned; and then came Darius himself in a chariot, as on a high throne, most superbly dressed in a vest of purple, striped with gold; and in a long robe beset with gold and precious stones. From a golden girdle which surrounded him hung his

^r The chief objects of adoration among the Persians were the Sun and Fire; and a good Deity whom they named Ormuzd, and an evil one called Ahriman. By the Greeks the former was called Oromasdes, and the latter Arimanius.

scymitar, whose scabbard flamed with gems: and his chariot was enriched with images of the gods in gold and silver.* His troops were indeed numerous; according to some, six hundred thousand men followed him to the field of battle. But they had more of show than strength; they were well calculated to shine in the profusion of their ornaments and grandeur of dress, but ill adapted to bear the charge of the heavy and impetuous Greeks, whose armour was more for use than pomp.

Against the numerous forces of Darius, Alexander opposed the chosen troops of Greece; their number was small, but their courage vast and discipline perfect. According to Justin, Alexander had but thirty-two thousand foot, and four thousand five hundred cavalry; and Plutarch says, that according to the smallest computation, he had thirty thousand foot and five thousand horse; and according to the largest account, thirty-four thousand foot, and four thousand horse. But those troops were veterans in war; they had long been engaged in the most bloody contests; they were so well skilled in military affairs, that they were each able to command as a general; they appeared more like the senate of an ancient state than common soldiers, their hopes of victory rested in coming to close combat.†

And, as they had been inured to toil and hardship, so also was their leader. From his childhood, his tutor Leonidas had brought him up in habits of temperance and toil; for he taught him to prepare for his dinner by marching before day light; and, by dining moderately, to create an appetite for supper.

* Rollin's An. H. v. 5. p. 38.

† Just. L. xi. C. 6.

And so careful was Leonidas to prevent his pupil having a relish for any luxury, that he used to search his chamber and his wardrobe, to see if his mother had put any thing for him that was nice or superfluous.* Alexander's mind was too full of conquest and ambition to be pleased with articles of luxury or effeminacy; hence, after the battle of Issus, when they brought to him a most curious casket adorned with Jewels, in which were kept Darius' perfumes, he said, I use no perfumes, but shall put something more valuable into it. This casket he employed to contain his Homer, a book of which he was passionately fond; as it fed the martial ardour of his mind, and supplied him with rules of war and policy. If Alexander was thirsty, he was satisfied with water; if hungry, the coarsest food pleased him. But when he became intoxicated with his victories and spoil, he yielded to Persian effeminacy; and was conquered by their vices who could not conquer him by their arms. His early education and manners were as brass, firm and strong; his training was for the conquest of the East, but when this was effected, he sunk into debauchery, and fell a victim to intemperance.

But with what propriety the Grecians are compared to brass, in opposition to the Persians, is very plain from Charidemus' speech to Darius not long before the battle of Issus. Darius, vainly confident in the number of his troops, asked Charidemus, a high spirited Athenian, and well skilled in war, if he did not think he had sufficient force to overwhelm his enemy. But the Athenian knew, that numbers do not always constitute strength, and therefore he replied:

* Plut. in vit. Alex.

"This prodigious apparatus of war, this mass of nations and of the whole East which you have assembled, may be terrible to your neighbours; Purple and gold shine so much among your troops, that they, who have not seen it, could not believe it. But the fierce and hardy troops of the Macedonians, with their shields and spears keep immoveably close together, and firmly maintain their ranks. Their phalanx is a body of foot that does not flinch. Man stands close and firm with man, arms with arms. Intent upon the signal of the commander, they well know how to follow their standards or to keep their ranks. All hear the word of command: nor are the officers more skilled than the common soldiers how to change, to flank, to run to the right or left, or to change their front and attack the enemy.

Nor do you imagine they are affected by a regard for gold and silver; for this their discipline has hitherto subsisted under the tuition of poverty. When fatigued the ground is their bed; when hungry, any food will satisfy them. They indulge in sleep but for a short time. Shall I believe then, that the Thessalian, Acarnanian, and Ætolian cavalry, troops invincible in battle, are to be repelled by slings, and by sticks hardened at the end by burning. You must have troops like them. You must send for auxiliaries from that country in which they were brought up. Employ, therefore this gold and silver to obtain such soldiers."

From this speech, we may have a very clear idea of the state of the Grecian and Persian armies. The former were well disciplined; few, but full of energy; and strength; firm and impenetrable as a wall of brass

* Q. Curt. Lib. 3 C. 5.

While the latter, were vast in number and gorgeous in dress; but ill disciplined, weak, and effeminate. But the propriety of the application of the term *brass* to the Grecian empire, will be still more evident from their armour; much of which had been, for many ages, made of that metal.

The arms of all the primitive Grecian heroes (Potter's Ant. B. 3. C. 4) were composed of brass, as appears from Homer. It is reported in Plutarch that when Cimon the son of Miltiades, conveyed the bones of Theseus from the isle of Scyros to Athens, he found interred with him a sword of brass, and a spear with a head of the same metal. Hesiod expressly says, that there was no such thing as iron in those days; but their arms, all sorts of instruments, and their very houses were made of brass :

Nor yet to men iron discovered was;

But arms, tools, houses were compos'd of brass.

Several other metals were made use of; gold and silver were in great esteem among them—But they, whose whole armour was composed of them, are usually represented as more addicted to effeminate and delicate arts, than manly courage and bravery. Glaucus' arms were indeed made of gold, but the great Diomedes was content with brass. The Persians addicted to softness and pleasure, and richly adorned with gold and Jewels, soon became a prey to the rough and hardy Grecians.

In Homer a very common appellation for the Greeks is, "*the brazen coated Greeks*:" and Xenophon tells us (Anabasis lib. I.) that in the expedition of Cyrus, the Greeks, "*had all brazen helmets*." Many other instances might be adduced of the great use of brass among the Greeks, but these are quite sufficient to

shew the propriety of the application of the term to them.

The second particular, by which the Grecian empire is distinguished, is its extent; for (v. 39) it "*shall bear rule over all the earth.*"

The same observations which we made use of to explain the terms, by which the extent of the Babylonian empire is defined by Daniel, will also apply to these respecting the Grecian. The whole is put for a very large part; and still more, that which Alexander did conquer, and the people from whom he received acts of submission bore a very considerable proportion to the world as known by the ancients.

The extent of the Grecian empire is insisted upon by many authors. The writer of the first book of Maccabees (1 Mac. i. 3) says of Alexander, that he "*went through to the ends of the earth, and took spoils of many nations, insomuch that the earth was quiet before him.*" Justin says, that he entered the mouth of the Indus, as in a chariot driven round the goal, having fixed the bounds of his empire, as far as the habitable parts of the earth would permit him to advance, or the sea was navigable.* Ambassadors waited upon him from the most distant nations to own their submission, or to intreat his friendship. His dominion extended over much of Europe; more of Asia than had ever yielded to the Persian arms became subject to his sway, and the wilds of Africa as well as the fertile kingdom of Egypt formed a part of his empire.

iv. But all human power must decay; the Grecian Phalanx was to be subdued by the Roman legion, and the conquerors of the Persians were, in their turn, to

* Justin. L. 12. C. 10.

yield to the soldiers of Italy. For, "*the fourth kingdom (v. 40) shall be strong as Iran: forasmuch as iron breaketh in pieces and subdueth all things: and as iron that breaketh all these, shall it break in pieces and bruise.*"

The properties, by which the fourth kingdom is described, are of such a nature, as clearly to prove that the Roman empire is the fourth kingdom. But to set this in a clear light, it may be necessary to give an abstract of those arguments, by which the great Master in those subjects, the very learned Mede, has proved that the fourth kingdom must be the Roman empire.

In the first ages of the church it was believed, without any known contradiction, for four hundred years, that the Roman was the fourth empire of Daniel: Nor was this opinion held only *after* the times of our Saviour; for it was maintained by the church of Israel *prior* to his coming upon earth. It is acknowledged without contradiction, that the kingdom which God was to set up, is the kingdom of the Messiah, or the dispensation of the Gospel. But this kingdom was to commence during the series of the four kingdoms; for (v. 44) "*in the days of these kings, or kingdoms, shall the God of heaven set up a kingdom which shall never be destroyed.*" Now who does not know, that Christ was born in the reign of Augustus, when all the world (Luke ii. 1) was ordered by him to be taxed, or enrolled? It is well known, that Christ was not born in the times of the Grecian, the third empire, but in the times of the Roman; and therefore the Roman must be the fourth empire. Thirty years before the birth of Christ, Egypt, the last remains of the Grecian empire, was reduced under the Roman yoke, and became a province of that iron empire; so that it is

plain, from the time in which the kingdom of the Messiah was to commence, that the Roman empire was Daniel's fourth kingdom, since the third had ceased to exist before Christ's birth. †

As iron is the metal, by which almost all other metals are wrought; so the Roman empire is compared to it, because of its strength and power, and of the grievous oppression it inflicted upon the nations of the earth. The histories, which the Romans themselves have left us of their affairs, clearly shew, that their constant object was to make Rome the mistress of the world. Power and conquest were incessantly aimed at under the various forms of government which they assumed. Every individual of distinction considered his own glory connected with the glory of the empire; and, therefore, felt anxious for its extension and duration. After the expulsion of Tarquin their last king, they appointed two annual consuls, whose very temporary power served as an incentive to the greatest exertions for obtaining personal glory to themselves, and increase of territory to the empire. They knew their time of office was short, and hence they were the more anxious to signalize themselves.

In the early times of the Roman empire, the severity of the people's manners and discipline made them like iron against their foes; and in the later periods, their vices of luxury, prodigality, and cruelty, made them the very grinders of the human race, for the provinces were plundered to maintain their extravagance. The description which Sallust has given of the Romans, both in the first and later ages of the commonwealth, might be considered as a comment almost purposely written to explain Daniel's words,

† Mede. P. 711 and 736.

when he says, "*and as iron shall it break in pieces and bruise.*"

Of the early Romans Sallust says; "As soon as their youth would permit, they learnt the art of war by experience and labour in the camp: they enjoyed much greater pleasure in arms and in horses for war than in lewd pursuits and revellings. To men like these, no labour was unusual; no place was unpleasant or difficult, no armed foe was fearful. Their fortitude made every thing yield; their greatest contest was for glory. Every one was eager to strike the foe, to scale the wall, to be distinguished, whilst he attempted such exploits. To do these things they considered as their riches, their fame, their nobility. They were avaricious of praise, but liberal of money; they wished for *vast* glory, but were content with *little* wealth." * Men of these dispositions, and brought up in a discipline so severe, and almost entirely military, were well fitted to bruise and break the nations of the earth by war and conquest.

But however their education might fit them for conquerors, their vices, in the later ages of the commonwealth, when many nations were subject to them, made them still more dreadfully oppressive to the rest of mankind, and also to one another. The same Author Sallust, shall prove this statement. Speaking of the moral character of the Romans in the times of Catiline, he says; "After that riches were considered as an honour and glory, empire and power accompanied them; virtue began to decline, poverty was thought a disgrace, and innocence was esteemed as malevolence. In proportion to their wealth, our youth became filled with luxury, avarice, and pride.

* Sallust. Bell. Cat,

They plundered, and then wasted what they got; they considered their own possessions of little worth, but coveted others; they paid no regard to modesty or chastity, to things human or divine.—They plundered from their very *allies*, all those things which their victorious ancestors, the bravest men, left to their *enemies*. They acted, as if the commission of injury was the proper exercise of power.”* Such then was the character of the Romans, when their empire was near to its greatest height, and when many people were subject to them; and from such men, what nation could expect justice, not to mention mercy? But the induction of a few instances of their continued exertions for universal empire, and of their cruelty in carrying their designs into effect, will shew still more clearly how as iron they did break in pieces and bruise the nations of the earth.

The ancient Romans were men of no ordinary sternness of character; for Brutus one of the first two consuls, attended the execution of his own sons who were put to death for attempting to restore kingly power. Their military discipline was carried at times to ferocity; Manlius Torquatus had his own son put to death, because he fought contrary to orders; as also had Posthumius. The Romans often complained of the infraction of treaties by the neighbouring states; but their history proves, that they never had serious intentions of maintaining peace with their neighbours, but were determined either to conquer or incorporate every state of Italy with themselves.

At the very beginning of their empire, when their territory extended but a few miles round their city, they plundered their neighbours of their daughters by

* Sallust. Bell, Cat.

force and artifice. Their foundation was in murder and rapine. And as they began, so they continued. The most noble cities in Italy were exterminated by them, either to remove their rivals, or to consolidate their own power. Alba they levelled with the ground; Gabii they took by treachery and murder; and Veii was so effectually destroyed by the slaughter of its inhabitants and the destruction of its buildings, that Florus says: "History is scarcely able to make one believe it ever existed." ^b

When they had either destroyed or subdued every city of note in Italy, they then pushed their conquests into distant countries. Carthage, which for many years they held as their most powerful rival, they destroyed to the ground with circumstances of the utmost cruelty and ferocity. Cato, who is often falsely extolled as a model of excellence, always incited them to its destruction, and, with what Florus calls "inexpiable hatred, in every debate, whatever might be the subject, took care to exclaim, Carthage must be exterminated." ^c Corinth, one of the finest cities in Greece they entirely sacked, burned and destroyed. Cæsar has often been praised for clemency; but surely he was as a massy iron hammer to break and bruise the Gauls, the Germans, the Britons, and those nations who assisted Pompey. Of the Veneti, he "slew their senate, and sold the rest:" ^d After the people of Uxellodunum had surrendered, "he cut off the hands of all who had borne arms;" ^e and it is said that between one and two millions of people fell beneath his sword. His clemency was more the exercise of policy than kindness; his acts of cruelty and tyranny corresponded with his ambition and love of power.

^b Florus. L. 1. C. 12.

^c Florus. L. 2. C. 15.

^d Cæsar. Com. L. 3. C. 16.

^e L. 8. C. 44.

Nor were the distant provinces of the Roman empire much less harassed in time of peace and submission, than when contending with their conquerors for their independence: for the governors considered them as spoil which they might plunder and consume in every excess of extravagance and debauchery. If a prince was permitted to reign over his people, he was generally obliged to buy his throne by continual gifts to the leading men at Rome, and to leave himself little more than the name of king.

As iron, therefore, did the Romans break in pieces and bruise the nations of Italy, Gaul, Spain, Germany, Britain, Greece, Asia minor, Syria, and Africa; the most distant countries felt their oppression, and many, whom they did not conquer were willing to buy peace by acknowledging their superiority. For the space of seven hundred years, the Romans were only three times in a state of peace. Their object was to make Rome mistress of the world; universal empire was that at which they ever aimed, and their efforts were successful, till the time appointed of God for their decay.

However strong the Roman empire might be, yet it had the seeds of decay in itself; for, "*Whereas, (v. 41—43) thou sawest the feet and toes, part of Potter's clay and part of iron, the kingdom shall be divided; but there shall be in it of the strength of the iron, forasmuch as thou sawest the iron mixed with miry clay. And as the toes of the feet were part of iron and part of clay, so the kingdom shall be partly strong and partly broken. And, whereas thou sawest iron mixed with miry clay, they shall mingle themselves with the seed of men; but they shall not cleave one to another, even as iron is not mixed with clay.*"

Throughout the whole human race there exists a

principle of discordance and opposition; and though many empires have been exceedingly large and powerful, yet, difference of language, manners, and pursuits, mightily operates to produce a spirit of independence among nations, and to make them hostile to each other; and hence, to prevent any one nation from possessing a very extended empire for any great length of time. If we look at individuals, we find very few instances of *two* people being much united in cordial affection and esteem, without frequent instances of disagreement; and of families it is still more the case; in the same nation between the common people of the country and of towns there is generally a spirit of quarrel and opposition, which leads them to acts of violence against each other; and the people of different towns will often preserve a kind of hereditary hatred towards each other. Since then there exists such a principle of opposition among individuals, families, and towns of the same nation, much more will it exist in different nations against each other. And as the source of all differences is generally the love of preeminence or independence, and as the love of independence or preeminence constantly operates upon us, it must follow, that nations will not be long subject to each other without great struggles for their independence, which must necessarily tend to weaken, and eventually to destroy every empire which includes many different nations.

The Roman empire, therefore, like every other of the same description, had the seeds of decay within itself. The opposition of individuals, the love of power and independence in the nations which it subdued, the indolence and effeminacy which success and luxury produced, all united to divide and dismember that iron kingdom,

Earthly empires are like the human body; certain causes operate incessantly for their growth, their support, and decay. God has appointed that the general age of man shall be threescore years and ten, and has formed the constitution of our frame in such a manner that it dissolves about the time appointed: in like manner, he has fixed a limit to human power and empire, and natural causes are always tending to determine this limit. But as some animal frames, from their strength and vitality, subsist longer than others—so some political constitutions, from possessing greater strength and energy than others, are more durable and firm, though necessarily tending to decay.

When, therefore, the prophet says, "*the kingdom shall be divided,*" he means, that though in some respects it should be strong as iron, yet in others it should be weak, and have the seeds of dissolution within itself.

Now nothing can tend more to destroy an empire than divisions or want of unity, perhaps nothing so much. But the history of the Roman empire presents us with a constant series of divisions, civil wars, and contentions for power; all of which necessarily restrained its energies against other nations, and operated as a mortal disease upon itself. Whether we consider its rise, its middle state, or its decline, we find that it was always divided by intestine broils and discord. Of the seven kings who reigned at Rome, while in its infant state, Romulus its founder no doubt was killed; Tarquinius Priscus was assassinated; Servius Tullius was dethroned and murdered, and Tarquin the Proud was driven from his crown and government. Not to mention the murder of Remus by Romulus at the very beginning of the Empire, no less than three of

seven kings died a violent death, and the fourth was driven away with ignominy and disgrace.

After the consular government was appointed, the very sons of Brutus, one of the first consuls, conspired against it; to such a height did their divisions arise, that the great bulk of the people at one time forsook the city, and were with difficulty persuaded to return. The Tribunes and the people were generally in a state of opposition to the Senate; and the business of the Agrarian law was an almost perpetual source of discord between the poor and the rich. The Decemviral power was abolished with circumstances of great internal divisions; and a constant struggle was maintained on the part of the Senate to retain their peculiar privileges, and of the people to acquire power.

As the empire increased in extent and power its divisions became still greater and more bloody; the quarrels between Marius and Sylla filled Rome with blood and slaughter: the war between Cæsar and Pompey, and their different adherents, extended itself over the greater part of the empire, and occasioned the death of vast numbers of the most distinguished Romans; the assassination of Cæsar was as a torch to set the empire in a general flame of war and division; nor did its ravages cease, till Augustus concentrated the supreme power in himself. During the reigns of Augustus and Tiberius the empire appeared to possess considerable unity; but after the death of Tiberius, we find the tyranny of the Emperors, and the love of power in others, producing the most violent and bloody contentions among themselves. Instead of applying all the resources of the empire to its stability and support, they employed them frequently in support of their schemes of power and dominion over each other: And though the Roman legions were often

employed against foreign enemies, yet they were as often engaged in civil wars and devastations.

Of the first twelve emperors eight at least died either by poison or assassination; and there is good reason to believe that three others died a violent death. The soldiers made the imperial power an article of sale, and offered it to the highest bidder; and by their frequent oppositions in the choice of a chief, rent and tore the empire. The wisdom and virtues of a particular emperor served now and then as a prop to the divided state, but which, when removed, only tended to expose its weakness and decay: and to prove more pointedly, the accuracy of the prophecy, viz. "*the kingdom shall be divided*," we may state the well known facts, that Constantine removed the seat of Government from Rome to Byzantium, *divided* the empire among his sons, and hence weakened its force and hastened its downfall. That principle of division, then, which we may say was innate in the Roman empire, grew with its growth, and by a constant operation prevented its stability; and at last, like the decayed pillar of a mighty roof, it let fall the whole fabric in one stupendous ruin.

As iron, therefore, and clay cannot be united, so the divisions of the empire prevented its stability; it had indeed the strength of the iron and was partly strong, but it had also the weakness of the clay, and was, therefore, partly broken. But though individual ambition incites men to oppose their personal rivals, yet there is a general principle among men, which disposes them to seek the glory, independence, and stability of their own nation and empire, and amidst all their eagerness for personal distinction, to promote their country's greatness. Hence, then, it is said of

the Romans, "*they shall mingle themselves with the seed of men;*" but all their policy will not avail to prevent the dissolution of their empire, for "*they shall not cleave one to another, even as iron is not mixed with clay.*"

By the Romans therefore mingling themselves with the seed of men, is meant their *policy*, by which they endeavoured to secure the greatness and extent of their empire. This policy shewed itself in different ways; by a pretended regard in many of the great men, and in some a real one, for the majesty of the Roman people; by the plans which they adopted to unite the Plebeians and the Patricians; by the marriages which contending rivals made with each others families, for the maintenance of union and internal peace; and by the attempts they made to assimilate the nations, which they conquered, to themselves, in language, manners, laws, and customs.

In the first ages of the empire all public transactions were referred to the Roman people: and though internally they were much divided, yet, in their foreign relations, business was transacted in the name of the People. The highest posts of dignity and honour were laid open to the different classes of citizens; and when the parties of Cæsar and Pompey, Augustus and Anthony, seemed to threaten destruction to the state, they endeavoured to heal their quarrels and unite their power by intermarriages. Julia the daughter of Cæsar was united to Pompey; and Augustus gave his sister Octavia to Anthony. The same policy was practised also by the later Emperors. But more especially did the Romans endeavour to unite the nations which they conquered in one common empire, by a similarity of language, laws, and customs; and so to mingle themselves with them as to appear one people.

But all their policy was ineffectual to preserve the unity of their empire: the seeds of decay were inherent in itself; and that mighty kingdom, which like iron had bruised and broken the nations of the earth, became like a vessel of clay and was broken in pieces.

v. But though all earthly empires are in their nature liable to decay, yet there is a kingdom established by God of a spiritual nature, which no force will ever be able to destroy; for, "*in the days of these kings (v. 44) shall the God of heaven set up a kingdom which shall never be destroyed: and the kingdom shall not be left to other people, but it shall break in pieces and consume all these kingdoms, and it shall stand forever.*"

The time, in which this fifth empire was to take its rise, was during the continuance of the series of the four empires, and before that series had received its full completion.¹ The word, kings, may with equal propriety be rendered kingdoms; and then the passage will be, both according to the Vulgate, and the Latin Translation of the Arabic, (*in diebus regnorum illorum*) in the days of these kingdoms.

When the stone struck the image on its feet, it was whilst it was standing, and before it was broken in pieces: And who does not know, that the kingdom of the Gospel began when Augustus had given the greatest strength and power to the Roman empire? The time of the erection of this fifth kingdom, therefore, clearly defines itself; and not only so, but determines what kingdom it was which was erected.

We have already seen, that the fourth empire was

¹ *Temporibus Regum istorum, hoc est, constante adhuc, et nondum absoluta aut peracta quatuor istorum Regum seu Regnorum serie. Mede. B. 3. P. 713.*

the Roman, which was prefigured by the legs and feet of the image; and as the stone struck the image upon its feet, we must therefore date the commencement of the fifth empire from the days of Augustus, when Christ, our Lord, was made manifest in the flesh to found the Gospel of peace and salvation.

The nature of the fifth kingdom was to be altogether different from that of the other empires; in its founder, its maintenance and support, and in its power and duration. The stone, which struck the image, "*was cut out without hands,*" i. e. God himself would set up this kingdom. And this exactly corresponds with what our Lord said to Pilate (*John xviii. 36*) "*My kingdom is not of this world.*" It is true, that it is by God, kings reign; and that all power belongeth unto him; and that the fate of empires depends upon his will: But the kingdom of the Gospel was founded *peculiarly* by him; for it did not owe its rise to human wisdom, or force of arms, but to miracles which were wrought by his power, and to that influence which his spirit exerted upon the minds of men in disposing them to receive it. The kingdoms of this world are supported by military force, and generally owe their origin to some bold and daring adventurer; but this kingdom is in its nature spiritual, and is supported by spiritual means, and is therefore perfectly distinct from human government as such. This passage, "*in the days of those kings shall the God of heaven set up a kingdom,*" received a most literal accomplishment in the person of Christ the founder of the Gospel; for being both divine and human, it is said of him, (*1. Tim. iii. 16*) "*God was manifest in the flesh.*" No armies were employed to subjugate mankind under the dominion of this spiritual kingdom, nor any other weapons but miracles, and the force of sound reason

and argumentation. And by means of those weapons, in a very short time, the Gospel was admitted and believed over the greatest part of the known world.

As the stone, which overthrew the image, was at first but small, so also was the beginning of the Gospel kingdom. Few believed in the divine mission of Christ. As a nation the Jews rejected him, though many individuals believed on him. His first followers were men neither of rank, nor power, nor wealth; they were of the humblest description, that the success of the Gospel might evidently be owing to the divine interposition. The great business of human government either is, or ought to be, the protection of men's liberties, and property; to look after the external affairs of mankind: But this fifth kingdom not only respects the interests of man in this world, but also fits him for the enjoyment of eternal happiness in the world to come. It is *within* man, and, therefore, does not depend upon armies and military force for its support. Its great energy and effect is upon the mind of man, leading him to acknowledge the one God and his son Jesus Christ; to submit himself to the laws of the Gospel; to devote himself entirely to the service of his creator; and to prove by his pious conduct, that he is a faithful subject of the Lord of heaven and earth. This kingdom, therefore, cannot, from its very nature, be subject to change. Its king is unchangeable; its laws never alter; nor will there ever be wanting subjects to its dominion. To be a subject of this empire does not unfit a man for subjection to earthly government; he may be a real subject of Christ, and yet loyal to his temporal prince, for one law of the Gospel is, to "*honour the king.*"

When, therefore, it is said of the stone, the kingdom

of the Gospel, "*that it brake in pieces the iron, the brass, the clay, the silver, and the gold,*" we must not suppose that the Gospel is contrary to civil government, or adverse to lawful authority; for we must "*render unto Cæsar the things which are Cæsar's.*" But as the stone grew to a great mountain and filled the whole earth, so the Gospel tends to incorporate in one common faith all men, and to unite them as one body to Christ their head and king. But the four great monarchies were all idolatrous, and therefore entirely opposite to the kingdom of Christ: The idolatrous kingdoms would, therefore, never, as such, form a part of the Gospel kingdom; and must therefore be subverted to admit of its full extent. The subversion of these kingdoms, then, by the Gospel, is the subversion of their existence especially as *idolatrous*; that every tongue may confess that Jesus is the Lord, and that the kingdoms of this world, as such, may become christian, may become the kingdoms of our God and of his Christ. The Gospel does not destroy civil government; but it necessarily tends to destroy all *idolatrous* governments, and will eventually triumph over all opposition to its progress and success. That there are now no remains of four empires, as they were exhibited by the image, is known to every one. The kingdoms of the Assyrians, the Persians, the Grecians and the Romans, are all swept away "*like the chaff of the summer threshing floor.*" Kingdoms it is true exist in those countries which they occupied; but for them no place is found, they are destroyed never to be revived. As the Roman empire comprehended the greater part of the countries which the three former empires contained, and many others in addition, the subversion of it was therefore in a sense the subversion of the whole; and though every exertion was made by many of its emperors to

destroy the rising kingdom of Christ, when it was but as a stone, yet its influence continued to increase till it had overthrown the idolatrous government, and the very being of the ancient Roman empire had ceased to exist.

The government and stability of the fifth empire was to be very different from that of the others, it was "*not left to other people*" (v. 44). Earthly kingdoms often change their governors; and we often see a new family raised to the throne: But the king of this empire can never be dethroned, nor can the power ever be wrested from his hands. No enemy can usurp his seat, or sway his sceptre: Of his government and peace there shall be no end. We have seen in this dissertation that the mightiest empires have been destroyed, and have become a prey to others: but his kingdom shall stand for ever; nor will any changes ever take place in its governor, its laws, or institutions. The duration of Christ's empire is not confined to the existence of this world, for if it were, it would then be finite, for "*the earth and all that is therein shall be burnt up*;" its duration will be eternal in the proper sense of the word, because those, who have been his true subjects upon earth, will reign with him in heaven, and where he is there will they also be forever.

The progress of this kingdom was to be gradual; at first it was but as a stone, which without human power struck and overthrew the image; but it afterwards "*became a great mountain and filled the whole earth*." (v. 35). From the present state of the extent of Christianity, it is plain this prediction has not received its full accomplishment; and many other passages of scripture give us great reason to believe, that both the belief and the practice of Christianity

will be much more general than it has ever yet been. The Gospel has been received by many nations it is true, but still much the greater part of the world is unchristian in its profession, nor has there ever yet been that universal spread of the Gospel which may be expected. When the fulness of the Gentiles shall be come in, all Israel shall be saved. (*Rom. xi. 26*) The heathen shall be given to Christ for his inheritance, and the utmost parts of the earth for his possession, (*2. Ps.*) To him there is "*given dominion, and glory, and a kingdom, that all people, nations, and languages should serve him.*" (*Dan. vii. 14*).

Though the progress of the Gospel was to be gradual as it respects the whole earth, yet its progress was very rapid at first to a certain extent. By means of the great extent of the language and dominion of the Roman, the fourth empire, in a very short time the Gospel was preached through a great portion of Europe, and through much of Asia, and some of the most distinguished countries of Africa. Men renounced the worship of idols, and God alone, according to the Gospel of his son, became the object of their adoration. By means of commerce and those colonies which European nations possess, the light of the Gospel continues to extend itself to dark and idolatrous nations. The stone is growing up to a mountain, which will fill the whole earth, and overwhelm every power that opposes itself against the kingdom of God and his Christ.

We have already shewn, that civil government, as such, is not contrary to the kingdom of the Gospel; and that the Gospel enjoins obedience to all lawful authority. Those men, therefore, are not to be regarded, who endeavour to persuade others, that the kingdom of the Gospel will supersede civil government.

The kingdoms of this world, as such, will become Christian. They will acknowledge one God, one Saviour, one Sanctifier, one law, and hence will become one body; and hence will be fulfilled many of those prophecies which speak of every one knowing the Lord from the least to the greatest: When the kingdoms of this world shall become the kingdoms of our Lord, and of his Christ, and he shall reign for ever and ever.

Dissertation

5.

CHAPTER III.

IN all ages of the world, conquerors, and princes, of a more than ordinary rank, have been anxious to perpetuate their memory as well by works of art as deeds of valour. All men know that their life will be but short, if extended to the utmost limit of human existence; and, therefore, they, whose power gives them the means, have generally raised some statue, building, or temple, which they hoped would survive themselves, and convey their names to posterity. The warrior often erected a trophy on the field where he conquered; or dedicated part of the spoil to what he considered a religious purpose. And nations, either from gratitude for the benefits they received, or from adulation to those whom they feared or admired, have erected statues and decreed them honours.

The time of peace is certainly the most favourable to the works of art. War exhausts the riches and resources of a state, and employs its treasures in the work of destruction; but peace affords both the means and the time for works of utility, and leaves princes at liberty to pursue their taste in public buildings and designs. But as they often engage in war from motive

of pride or ambition; so also in the time of peace, they often seek by their public works, their own personal glory and gratification, rather than the good of their subjects. They aim more to please themselves than to promote the substantial good of those whom they govern,

Great were the successes which had attended the arms of Nebuchadnezzar. His enemies in Palestine and Syria had been obliged to submit to his yoke, and he had returned to Babylon enriched with plunder, when (v. 1.) *"he made an image of gold whose height was threescore cubits, and the breadth thereof six cubits: he set it up in the plain of Dura in the province of Babylon."* This image he no doubt set up as a tribute of gratitude to his Gods for his victories; and as Bel was the principal Deity of the Assyrians, this image it is most probable, was erected to his honour, and dedicated to his worship. As Nebuchadnezzar considered his successes as resulting from the favour of the Gods he worshipped, he thought himself bound in gratitude to give some signal proof of his attachment to them, and to devote part of his spoil to that which he considered a religious service. Indeed it was a common thing among ancient nations to devote a part of their booty to the use and ornament of their temples; and to erect statues for the purposes either of honour to their Gods and princes, or for expiation. Hence the Greeks dedicated a golden tripod to Apollo at Delphi out of the spoils which they took from the Persians at the battle of Plataea; and the Lacedæmonians erected two brazen statues to Pallas, as expiation for the pollution they had committed upon one of her temples, in the death of Pausanias.[§] Herodotus also^h informs us that in the temple at Babylon there

§ Thucydides P.387: 89. Edit. Hen. Step. 1588. h Herod. L. 1. C. 183.

was a great golden image; and near it a table, and a seat, and a throne, all of the same metal. The value of all which was estimated by the Chaldeans at eight hundred talents of Gold. He also seems to make mention of another golden statue twelve cubits high, in the same temple; though it is not quite certain, whether he means there were two or only one. Tacitus also says¹ the Roman Senate decreed, that a statue should be erected to Nero in the temple of Mars the Avenger, of a magnitude equal to that of the God's. On some occasions, an image was made to represent an emperor or king: and the same honours were paid to it which were due to the person it represented. Hence it was that Tiridates, a Parthian prince, placed his diadem before the statue of Nero as a mark of submission^k; and Zorsines prostrated himself before the image of Claudius^l.

This image, which Nebuchadnezzar erected, was set up in the eighteenth year of his reign, and in the year B. C. five hundred and eighty seven: for though the Hebrew text does not mention any date, yet the Septuagint has placed its erection in the year I have stated; "for which I doubt not," says the learned Prideaux, "there was some very good authority. For it could in no year of that king's reign fall more likely, and therefore according hereto I have placed it."^m And as its size was exceedingly great, it was set up in the plain of Dura; a place well adapted to receive the concourse that was to be present at its dedication and to afford every convenience for its worship. This plain we are informed was in the province of Babylon, and most probably to distinguish it from another plain

¹ Tac. An. lib. 13. C. 8.

^k Tac. An. lib. 15. C. 29

Tac. An. lib. 12. C. 17.

^m Prid. An. 587.

of the same name in the province of Susa.* For as Babylon was not only the seat of government, but the place which contained the great temple of Bel, and where his most solemn services were performed, the image would be erected in a situation calculated to give fresh lustre and importance to the mistress of the empire.

The form of this image no doubt was human; Grotius thinks it was an image of Nabopalasser the father of Nebuchadnezzar, and others suppose it was an image of himself. But there does not seem sufficient ground for either of these opinions, for we have already shewn that it was usual with heathen nations to erect statues of a human form to their Gods, and in particular, that the Babylonians had one, if not two in their temple, of this description; and still further, when it is considered that there is no mention nor allusion in the whole account which Daniel gives, of its being an image either of Nebuchadnezzar or his father, I infer, that it was an image dedicated solely to his Gods. And as the human form has ever been thought the most excellent, it is but reasonable to suppose, as was in fact the case, that idolaters would in general represent their Gods under that form.

The dimensions of the image are out of all human proportion, if we suppose the sixty cubits (ninety feet) high, and the six cubits (nine feet) broad, to comprise only the statue, for a man's height is rarely six times his breadth; but the height of this image is ten times its breadth, if the dimensions be confined to the image. To obviate this difficulty, therefore, I suppose, with Prideaux,† that the pedestal on which the image was placed is included in the height. Now

* *Pole Synop. in loc.*

† *Prid. An. 570.*

Diodorus Siculus mentions a statue of gold in the temple of Babylon, which was forty feet high; if then we suppose this to be the image which Nebuchadnezzar set up, it will bring the proportion of the height of the image to its breadth as forty is to nine, a proportion nearly equal to that which holds generally in the human form.

But though this image was so large, yet it was much less than either the colossus at Rhodes, or the statue erected by Nero of himself: the former was one hundred and five feet high; ^p and the latter ^q a hundred and twenty. But however one may admire the size or the workmanship of these statues, yet one must regret, that princes often expend sums in useless undertakings, which might be employed in works that would be publicly advantageous. Useful public works, are honourable to the prince who erects them, as well as beneficial to his people. And were princes more anxious to promote the peace and prosperity of their subjects than their own personal feelings of ambition or revenge, they would be the means of diffusing a much greater sum of human happiness than they generally are.

As Nebuchadnezzar wished to make the dedication of the image as imposing as possible, he collected from the provinces of his mighty empire, all his chief men; for (v. 2.) *“the kings sent to gather together, the princes, the governors, and the captains, the judges, the treasurers, the counsellors, the sheriffs, and all the rulers of the provinces to come to the dedication of the image which Nebuchadnezzar the king had set up.”* The dedication of this image was to be perfectly national. Men of the greatest power and rank attended from all

^p Prid. An. 222.

^q Crevier's Nero. P. 210.

quarters in obedience to the king's command, that they might give weight and consequence to the ceremony. The Babylonian, like every well regulated empire, was divided into certain provinces; over which governors were appointed by the king. Indeed order, unity, and regularity, are the very life and strength of an empire; an order, which enables the prince to ascertain all the leading and important transactions which take place, and an unity and regularity in giving commands and receiving information. The great defect in the ancient empires was the too great independence of the provinces; and their civil and military power being often so united in the same person as to make him nearly independent of his prince. From these two causes the greatest empires were often overthrown; and still more frequently endangered. The too great independence of the American states of each other contains the seeds of their dissolution. At present, perhaps, they have the power of giving as great stability to their government, as human governments are capable of, by strengthening the executive power, and making every state *entirely* dependent upon a central legislature. If they neglect to do this soon, a dissolution of their union will most probably in future prevent its accomplishment.

It is not easy, nor perhaps possible, to give a precise idea of the nature and offices of the different ranks and governors, who were summoned to attend the dedication of the image. In all nations there must be a general resemblance in the offices of the great ministers of state; while there may be many shades of difference, which, as they subsisted among ancient nations, cannot be determined, and hence we cannot have an exact idea of them. But, however, the Ba-

bylonian government was under a generally well arranged system; for its "potentates administered their government by officers of several sorts, civil and military; and accordingly we find them divided into three classes, and supposed to be chosen from among the gravest and most noble personages of the empire: the first had the charge of virgins, and their disposal in marriage; and were to judge in matters of adultery and the like: the second took cognizance of thefts; and the third of all other crimes. We find the subordinate powers under this mighty emperor (Nebuchadnezzar) divided into princes, governors, captains, judges, treasurers and counsellors; so that it is plain nothing was wanting to keep peace and good order in the empire, and that the civil and military œconomy was under severe regulation."†

† An. Un. Hist. v. 4. P. 344. 1. The "*Princes*" mentioned in verse 2nd, were, most probably the Chief Nobility: the word which we translate Princes, is, by Castell and Buxtorf translated, Satraps; and by others, next to the king. It seems agreed by all, that they were of the highest rank of Nobility. 2. The word, "*Governors*," is translated by Wintle, Senators; and Castell speaks of them as holding the chief ecclesiastical and military offices. Parkhurst says, "It seems a foreign word, for it occurs not in Scripture till the time of Isaiah and Jeremiah; and in the Books written before the Captivity always means a Prince, or Noble, among the Assyrians or Chaldeans. I suspect the word to be a derivation from the Chaldee word—Shege—to be great." 3. The "*Captains*," were Governors or, viceroys. The word is common, says Parkhurst, to the Chaldeans, Arabians, Syrians, Assyrians, and Persians, and is perhaps a derivative from the Hebrew Phe—to extend—on account of governing a certain extent or district of country. 4. The "*Judges*," says Wintle, seem to have been a kind of Guardians or Directors of the Statute law, or decrees of the Monarch. But the Adargezrea, translated Judges, appear rather to mean the Chief Soothsayers, or Augurers, who judged of future events by cutting up and inspecting the entrails of beasts; and the word seems to be derived from—adar—to be glorious, or taken substantively, to signify the rich robe worn by them, and also from—Gezer—to cut: And hence Gazrea, Soothsayers,

As images formed a material part of idolatry, so their dedication was considered of great importance. They were consecrated with various rites and ceremonies, to give them sanctity and reverence. "Sometimes a woman dressed in a garment of divers colours, brought upon her head a pot of sodden pulse, as beans, pease, or the like, which they gratefully offered to the Gods, in remembrance of their ancient diet.—Sometimes they took a new vessel with two ears, upon each of which they bound a chaplet of white wool, and another of yellow upon the fore part of it, and covered the vessel; then they poured out before it a libation called ambrosia, which was a mixture of water, honey, and all sorts of fruits.—But the most usual manner of consecration was performed by putting a crown upon them, anointing them with oil, and then offering prayers and oblations to them." ^s It was also customary to have feasting, and dancing, or a kind of march round the idol, and to offer up many sacrifices when they dedicated an image; for (*Exodus*, xxxii. 6, 18, 19) we find that when Aaron set up the golden calf, its dedication was attended with all those circumstances. Music, it is plain from the dedication of Nebuchadnezzar's image, formed also a part of the ceremony; for (v. 5) "*the cornet, flute, harp, sackbut, psaltery, dulcimer, and all kinds of music*"

who cut the entrails of Beasts, and decided, or judged of future events by this method of Divination (See Parkhurst.)

5. The "*Treasurers*" were those who presided over the revenue, and managed the receiving and paying of money. 6. The "*Counsellors*" were skilled in the law, and their business seems to have been to declare and explain it; 7. The "*Sheriffs*" are supposed by some to be Janitores, i. e. these who attended particularly about the King's person and palace.

^s Pott. An. of Gr. B. 2. P. 194—5.

were to strike up, when the people were to fall down and worship the statue.¹ The precise nature and

¹ 1. Qurna, translated Cornet, a musical instrument, says Parkhurst, made of horn; and most probably of the trumpet kind. 2. Mesruqueta, the Flute, is from Serug, to kiss or whistle; and was, therefore, a wind instrument, and may be translated flute, pipe, or flagelet. (Castell. Parkhurst.) 3. Quetresh, Harp, was an instrument of the stringed kind, as a Lyre or Harp. It seems to receive its name from the citron tree of which it was made, and which grew in Armenia, Media and Persia. From this word comes the Greek Kithara; the Latin, Cithera; and the English, Guitar. (Bp. Chandler. Parkhurst.) 4. Sabbecha, Sackbut, from whence comes the Greek, Sambuca, by changing the first b into m. It was a very ancient instrument, and strung with many chords; and comes from Sabbach, which signifies to twist or plat. This word, also, signifies an Elder tree, because of its intertwining branches; and of the wood of this tree was the Sabbecha made. "However it may be noted, in passing, that Samma and Bucare Indian or Persian words for certain instruments of Music; and anciently those tongues were the same which also were spoken by the Medes and Persians" (Bp. Chandler). Athenæus says (Pole in loc.) that it was an instrument of *four* strings; and others, that it was a triangular instrument in use among the Syrian Women. Bochart says (Wintle in loc.) that it was called Lyro-Phoenix, or Phœnician Lyre, because invented by the Phœnicians. From this account, then, it appears, that the word, Sackbut, by no means conveys a true idea of the Sabbecha: for the Sackbut is a wind instrument, the Sabbecha, a stringed one. 5. Psanterin, Psaltery, was a many stringed instrument, and in form like a triangle. The Greeks acknowledge that it was not of their invention, and that it came from the Barbarians; a term which they applied particularly to the Eastern nations. (Bp. Chandler.) 6. Symphouea Dulcimer, Symphonea does not signify an *union of voices* or instruments, as the Greek Symphonia does: And, therefore, it is very fallacious to derive the former from the latter because of similarity of sound. Bp. Chandler derives Symphonea from Shaphaph which gives the idea of cavity to all its derivatives. Hence, then, He says, a kind of drum used by the Moors in Africa, a pipe perforated with many holes, and a bladder with many pipes inserted in it, a kind of Musical instrument left by the Moors in Spain, were all called by the name of Symphony. Others suppose it was a kind of Organ: and others that it might be an instrument, like a dulcimer, with brass strings. Music and many of its instruments were invented by and known to the people of the East *long before* the flood; for Jubal (Gen. iv. 21) "was the Father of

shape of these instruments cannot be determined; what, therefore, I have been able to ascertain respecting them, I have thought it better to subjoin in a note than to introduce into the body of the page. But we must not pass over an objection which some have made against the genuineness of the book of Daniel; because some of the names of the musical instruments used at the dedication of the image are similar to Greek names of musical instruments. Because these names are similar, they infer that the book of Daniel must have been written much later than it is said to have been written; and that Daniel could not be its author, because the Greek language was unknown to the Chaldees till many years after the captivity.

Now this objection can be made only from ignorance, or wilful opposition to the scriptures; for the Greeks derived their very origin from the Chaldean and Eastern nations, and not the Chaldees from them. The Greeks themselves were descended from Javan the fourth son of Japheth, who migrated from the very country of the Chaldees into Greece. Hence in (*Dan.* x. 20. xi. 2. *Joel* iii. 6. and *Zech.* ix. 13.) the name of Javan is in the original, which we translate Grecia. So far from the Greeks conveying science to the Eastern nations, they were indebted to them for their very letters,—the first elements of learning. Before the times of Cadmus the Phœnician, Herodotus tells us " that letters were unknown to the Greeks; And that their first letters were those which the Phœnicians used :

all such as handle the Harp and Organ : " What but ignorance, then could attribute the instruments in question to the invention of the Greeks, in order to lessen the authority of the Book of Daniel.

^a Herod. lib. 5. C. 58, and 59.

but that they afterwards changed their sound and modulation. Now the Hebrew, the Chaldee, and the Phœnician languages differed little from each other; they were but mere dialects of the same tongue; and as the Greeks were descended from Javan and derived letters from the Phœnicians, many of their words must necessarily be similar to theirs, and consequently to the Chaldee and Hebrew. Whoever supposed, that because the English word lyre is from the Latin *lyra* and the Greek *lura*, that therefore Horace and Anacreon borrowed the word from the English? And just as wise is it to suppose, that the Chaldees borrowed the names of their instruments of Music from the Greeks. But let it be granted, a thing not to be granted, that the Chaldees had the words in dispute from the Greeks, yet this concession will not avail the objector; for there were several migrations of Greeks into Asia very long before the times of Nebuchadnezzar: the Greeks also had much intercourse with Tyre by means of trade, and hence might convey certain technical words of music into Chaldea. Admitting, then, the objector's position that the Chaldees had the words in question from the Greeks, it serves him no purpose; and still less can he maintain his ground, when it is evident they had not. *

Music has in all ages formed a leading part of worship; and the use of it is sanctioned by the example of our Lord, and by the descriptions which are given in the scriptures of the employment of the blessed in heaven. Our Lord (*Mat. xxvi. 30*) sung an hymn with his disciples a little before he was betrayed and delivered into the hands of the Gentiles; and (*Rev. xiv. 2, 3.*) we find the blessed in heaven are repre-

* Bp. Chandler. *Vind. of Def. and Sam. Chandler's vind. of the prophecy of Daniel.*

sented as singing a new song; and St. John says he heard "*the voice of harpers harping with their harps.*" It were very easy to produce many passages in confirmation of the propriety of using music in divine worship; but the examples of Christ, and of the blessed in heaven must be decisive. And hence we may see how defective is the Quaker mode of worship. They do not admit music; but can they have any just reason for its rejection? We need not be afraid of imitating our Lord's conduct; nor of singing with a good courage unto the Lord. In this particular, the bulk of those who attend public worship in the Church of England are very defective. There are very few congregations which sing. Perhaps they have a few to whom they either give, or who monopolize all this part of divine worship to themselves; and the rest sit and listen as if they had only to hear. Would congregations sing, I have no doubt it would have a powerful tendency to encrease greatly the number of those who attend the church. It would give an interest to the worship, which it too often wants. The voices of five hundred or a thousand people all united in a psalm of praise would arouse men's feeling of devotion, and would tend to fill our churches more than is generally imagined. It is good to have a few leading voices united, to direct the congregation. But all should sing, and that loudly; not as if they feared or were ashamed of what they did, but as if it were their pleasure and delight. The tunes should be plain and strong; such as are easily learnt by the ear, and which would give an elevation and grandeur to the mind.

But to leave this digression, and return to the dedication of Nebuchadnezzar's image. It is probable he expected opposition to his mandate; and that all

would not worship the statue; or else, why should he (v. 6.) make an edict, that *"whoso falleth not down and worshipping shall the same hour be cast into the midst of a burning fiery furnace"* ? This edict, no doubt, was made with a particular reference to the Jews: of whom, the pious would not worship any thing but the true God. Perhaps some of the king's courtiers might advise the decree, that they might have an opportunity of accusing Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego; whom they knew to be firm in their attachment to the law of their God, and whom they envied because of the rank they held in the province of Babylon. But on whatever ground the edict was made, It is certain that *false* religions have ever been intolerant. False religions never admit liberty of conscience in true worship. And hence it was that the Pagans persecuted the first Christians with such long and relentless rage and fury; that Antiochus Epiphanes subjected the Jews to the most cruel tortures; that Mahomet propagated his creed by the sword; and that the church of Rome hath been drunk with the blood of the saints, whom she has tortured and slain. False zeal has ever been cruel. But true religion discards every degree of persecution; and hence our Lord told James and John (*Luke ix. 55*) that they knew not what manner of spirit they were of, when they wanted fire to be brought from heaven to consume those who did not receive him; for he came, and his religion is like himself, not to destroy but to save men's lives.

Burning alive seems to have been a frequent punishment among Eastern nations, and for different crimes. Among the Jews it was ordained to be the punishment, if a man should commit incest by taking a wife and her mother (*Lev. xx. 14*); or if the

daughter of any priest should profane herself by playing the whore (*Lev. xxi. 9*). Simple whoredom in some cases was doomed to the same punishment; for (*Gen. xxxviii. 24*) Judah said, when he found his daughter in law, Tamar, was with child by whoredom after her husband's death, "*bring her forth and let her be burnt.*" And Jeremiah says (*xxix. 22*); "*the Lord make thee like Zedekiah, and like Ahab, whom the king of Babylon roasted in the fire.*" And Shaw informs us, that burning alive is still inflicted at Algiers upon Jews and Christians for capital crimes.* But however others may differ from a truly pious man upon points in religion, and however great may be the power of a Prince; yet he will never violate the sacred rights of conscience: He will secure to all his people the free exercise of their worship; nor will he let any party disturb the peace and quiet of another. If he endeavours to convince others of error, it will be by the force of reason and truth; not by the sword, the rack, or the furnace.

It is well known that the passions of envy and jealousy, rage in no place more than in a court. Those who are in places of great trust and power are continually exposed to the shaft of detraction when they act right; and still more so when in any respect they err. A prince is often surrounded by those, who only wish to eject others from their places that they may fill them. Their ambition or their wants continually prompt them to lessen the esteem and character of those who are in power. Shadrach, Meshach and Abednego, could not, for conscience sake, worship the image which the king had set up; but this afforded their enemies an opportunity of accusing them. Wherefore (*v. 8.*) "*certain Chaldeans came near and ac-*

*Wintle's note on *v. II.*

cused the Jews." The king had summoned all the chief men of his empire; and as these three Jews were set over the affairs of the province of Babylon, the very centre of the empire, their absence from the dedication of the image would soon be observed. But as the accusation was preferred so readily, it is evident that certain of the Chaldeans were waiting to seize the opportunity of making it. Their accusation was made with greater eagerness; for Wintle translates the eighth verse,—"*Immediately hereupon certain Chaldeans came near, and set forth invidious accusations against Jews;*" And Calvin translates the passage, *itaque statim, eadem hora, appropinquarunt viri Chaldæi, et vociferati sunt accusationem contra Judæos; hoc est clamose et quasi cum tumultu eos accusarunt*:—therefore immediately, in the same hour, Chaldean men came near, and vociferated an accusation against the Jews; that is, clamorously, and as it were with tumult accused them: And Parkhurst says, *acal qurje*, "may be best translated, to speak aloud, or proclaim accusations." The Chaldeans, no doubt were incensed to see captives elevated to those places of dignity which these three Jews held; but as they had not been able to convict them of mal-administration, they now find an occasion of accusing them, as they afterwards did Daniel, concerning the law of their God. As Nebuchadnezzar was a despotic prince, his decree was law: to oppose his will was treason. The Chaldeans, therefore, had an opportunity of representing these Jews as traitors; because they regarded not his decree, nor served his Gods, nor worshipped the image he had set up. This rendered their situation the more trying, for it was not a question simply about religion; since their enemies had contrived to connect it with loyalty to their prince. This, to a good man, is peculiarly distressing; for he

knows that he owes loyalty to his sovereign, and he is ready to obey him in every thing that is not contrary to the divine law. But when human and divine laws are opposite, he can never hesitate to obey the latter.

From the character of Daniel it must be evident, that he also would not worship the king's image. But he might be absent; or, if present, was not accused. His authority must have been great with the king after the interpretation of his dream, which none of the Chaldean wise men could explain; and it is most probable they would not dare to prefer an accusation against him, till they had seen the result of their information against his three friends. But as that result was so miraculous, of course they would drop all thoughts of impeaching Daniel.

Few things can be supposed to exasperate a despotic prince so much, as resistance to a public decree; hence, when Nebuchadnezzar found that Shadrach, Meshach and Abednego did not worship his image, he was filled with rage and fury against them, and ordered them to be brought into his presence for examination. In this examination two things are particularly worthy of observation; the king's proposal, and their answer. Nebuchadnezzar's anger did not make him forget, that no man should be condemned unheard. He no doubt valued these Jews because of their ability and fidelity in their offices; and perhaps he had not forgotten what he owed to their friend Daniel, for relating and interpreting his dream. He was evidently a monarch of more than ordinary abilities; and in many instances shewed generosity as well as magnanimity of character. He, therefore, enquires of them (v. 14) whether it was true, that they did not worship the golden image he had set up. Wintle

translates the verse thus;—“ *Is it insultingly Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego, that ye do not revere my Gods, nor worship the image of gold which I have set up?* ” Now this version sets the king’s character in a still more honourable light; for it supposes that they had not worshipped the image, but that their not doing it, might arise from causes which did not include a disregard of his edict. He was willing to give them another trial; that all doubt might be removed, whether from design or from some other cause they had not worshipped his Gods, nor bowed before the statue. And well would it be for empires, if princes would always take pains to examine before they condemn. They have need to stop their ears against false accusations; and even when they hear true ones, carefully to enquire into all the circumstances of the case. But amidst all Nebuchadnezzar’s care for justice, there was great pride and blasphemy. If the three Jews were willing to fall down and worship the image, what was passed would be forgiven; but if not, they were to suffer the prescribed punishment. “ *And who is that God,* ” says he, “ *that shall deliver you out of my hands?* ” He had not been convinced that the God of the Hebrews was the only God: He acknowledged to Daniel (ii. 47) that their God was a God of Gods, a Lord of kings, and a revealer of secrets; but it is plain he had no conception of there being only one true God, and that all others were false. He supposed the God of the Hebrews was powerful; but not able to deliver them from the fiery furnace.

But Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego, had well considered the subject; and they were determined to hazard every thing rather than sin against God. Their answer was prepared; and, therefore, with all respect they tell the king (v. 16), “ *we are not careful,* ” or solicitous, “ *to answer thee in this matter.* ” They did

not wish to exasperate the king by arguing the case; but at once to inform him, that they would not worship the image. This was plain and firm conduct; such as a good man always exhibits, for true piety can never conform to what is sinful, nor bend to the will of princes, when they enjoin vicious principles or conduct. These Jews seem to have had a persuasion, that God would deliver them on this occasion: and that, as he had by miracles in former times rescued the Jews from the hands of their oppressors, so at this time he would also work for the honour of his name in the sight of the heathen. It is more than probable that the Apostle Paul alludes to these men in the eleventh of Hebrews, when speaking of the power of faith in some, he says, "*who through faith, quenched the violence of fire.*" The spirit of God no doubt rested upon them, filling their minds with strong confidence and assurance of deliverance; and hence they hesitate not (v. 17) to tell the king, "*He will deliver us out of thine hand, O king.*" Had these men been of a conforming temper, perhaps they might have contrived to appear to worship the image, when they really did not. But neither threats nor persuasions were able to induce them to put on the semblance of idolatry. And in this respect they give an example to Christians, who ought always to avoid the appearance of evil. And I cannot here avoid noticing the abominable laxity of moral principle in modern infidels, and that there is a much nearer connection between infidelity and idolatry than is generally supposed. Gibbon and Hume can both speak with great lenity and feeling of Paganism, as serving salutary purposes; as not being so monstrously absurd as at first we may apprehend; and as affording excellent motives for all the virtues which aggrandize a people. To worship one only God, as revealed in the Gospel of his son, is,

with these very knowing philosophers, childish superstition and degrading, to our nature; while the mythology of the heathen is represented as elegant, and tending to humanize mankind. To "be a priest of Jupiter, is, with these sophists, a wise and politick measure; but to be a minister of the Gospel, a mean silly thing." The step between infidelity and idolatry is very short; and whenever men throw off their regard for the true God, they will feel very little hesitation in worshipping false ones. But true piety will not accommodate itself to sinful practices, no not in appearance. The adoration paid by the heathen to their false Gods was various. To kiss the hand (*Job*: xxxi. 26, 27) was a mark of adoration to the sun and moon; and to kiss the image of a God (*1 Kings*, xix. 18), and to offer incense before it indicated reverence and worship. But no good man can ever give that honour to a creature, much less to an image, which is due to the Deity; and hence Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego, tell Nebuchadnezzar, "*we will not serve thy Gods, nor worship the golden image which thou hast set up.*" They were not like infidel sophists, willing to act in public contrary to their principles; but, like good and wise men, would not act in opposition to truth and reason either in public or in private.

As the answer which the three Jews returned was so decisive and uncomplying, Nebuchadnezzar became

¶ See Gibbon, v. 1. C. 11. Sec. 1. Hume's Essays v. 11. P. 442; as quoted and illustrated by Graves in his excellent lectures upon the four last Books of the Pentateuch. Part. 2nd. lec. 1st. But we have had positive proof, that Infidelity leads to Idolatry, in the conduct of the French Atheists, during the height of their revolution. For after, as a Government, they had formally abolished Christianity, they instituted Paganism, and Heathen rites, and acted a part in the ceremonies. And hence we see, that men no sooner forsake the true God, than they adopt false ones.

full of fury (v. 19); “ *and the form of his visage was changed against Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego.* ” A despotic prince could ill brook such firm opposition to his unjust decree; and hence his countenance shewed the raging passions of his soul. A man’s face is often the index of his feelings and sentiments; and serves as a window by which you may look into his heart. Nebuchadnezzar’s rage was so great, and his determination to destroy them so strong, that he ordered the furnace to be heated seven times hotter than usual; and that they should be *bound*² and thrown into it. And having taken these measures, he thought no God could be able to deliver them. The intenseness of the heat slew even those who executed his decree; so that in all human likelihood it was impossible for the Jews to escape burning. But all these circumstances only rendered their deliverance the more remarkable. The precautions which Nebuchadnezzar took of having them bound, and of increasing the heat of the furnace seven times; and that heat destroying those who threw them into the fire, all proved their safety the more miraculous, and tended more essentially to exalt the power of their God.

It often happens that the Deity delays to interfere till all hope of deliverance is gone; he tries the faith and patience of his people to the uttermost, and when they seem reduced to the greatest extremity, then he interposes and magnifies his power. Such was the

² 1. The “*coats*” seem to have been a kind of cloak or mantle which hung down to their heels: 2. the “*Hosen*” is translated by Wintle, turbans; and Parkhurst thinks them a kind of Tiara, which is the common head dress among the Eastern Nations: 3. the word translated “*Hats*,” is, by Castell, translated tegumentum, paludamentum, i. e. a covering, a cloak, which word Wintle adopts. The names of these parts of their dress will then be Mantles, Turbans, and Cloaks.

case with Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego. They were cast into the furnace whose heat destroyed those who threw them in; and the king seemed to have a complete triumph over them, and the God in whom they trusted. Now, then, was the time for the full display of divine power. The time which was most calculated to convince mankind that Jehovah alone is God. The concourse of the greatest and wisest men in all Nebuchadnezzar's mighty empire was very great; they worshipped false Gods; the Jews were held in derision; and the governors and princes were all assembled in the plain of Dura, and consequently all witnessed the divine interposition in favour of the three Jews. Such a time as this, gave full display to mankind, that the God of Israel was the only true God; and that the idols which they worshipped were lying vanities. There was another circumstance also, which made the deliverance of the three Jews the more important. Fire was the great object of worship among the Chaldees, and most Eastern nations. It was considered as the supreme object of adoration. By their being preserved from its violence, it was evident, then, that it was but a creature, and subject to the controul of their God; it was clear that the object of their worship was subordinate to the God of the Jews. *"The princes (v. 27) governors, and captains, and the kings counsellors, being gathered together, saw these men, (after they had come forth of the midst of the fire), upon whose bodies the fire had no power, nor was an hair of their head singed, neither were their coats changed, nor the smell of fire had passed on them."* And having seen this miracle, they would relate it with all its circumstances among the nations from which they came, and hence convey in some degree the knowledge of the true God.

The form of the furnace was probably something like our ovens; the mouth of which afforded Nebuchadnezzar an opportunity of seeing what occurred within. Great then was his astonishment, when he beheld "*four men loose (v. 25) walking in the midst of the fire,—and the form of the fourth like the Son of God.*" What is translated THE son of God, is by Wintle, and indeed most others, translated A son of God; which is equally agreeable to the original, and more accordant with the ideas of the heathen, and their notions of supernatural powers. And hence the king calls him (v. 28) an Angel; when, therefore he calls him a son of God, he does it, not because he thought him Christ: but according to the opinion commonly received among all nations, that the angels were the sons of God, because a certain divinity shone in them. They, therefore, indifferently called any angels, sons of God*. This also is consonant with scripture, in which angels are sometimes called by the same appellation; as in (*Job, i. 6*) there was a day when "*the sons of God*" came to present themselves before the Lord; and (*Job, xxxviii, 7.*) "*When the morning stars sang together, and all the sons of God shouted for joy.*"

The doctrine of the interposition of angels, or supernatural beings, has been believed by all nations; and is fully proved by the various instances which occur in scripture of their appearance. An angel appeared to Manoah and his wife; an angel appeared to

* Tribus istis viris Angelus unus datus est: eum vocat Nebuchadnezzar filium dei, non quod putaverit Christum esse: sed scimus vulgo fuisse illud receptum apud omnes populos, Angelos esse filios dei, quia scilicet in illis fulgeret quædam divinitas. Promiscue igitur quoslibet Angelos vocarunt dei filios. Calvin on Dan. C. 3, 24, 25.

Zacharias, and to the Virgin Mary; an angel delivered Peter out of prison, and a great multitude of angels sung at the birth of Christ. Indeed the scriptures are full of instances of their interposition, and of their being sent on messages of importance by the Almighty. But we shall treat of this subject more at large, when we come to the seventh chapter. The doctrine is founded both in reason and scripture; though many have injured it, by wild and fantastic notions unwarranted by revelation or experience. The whole heathen mythology was most intimately connected with the belief in supernatural agency. Hence their oracles; their rites to the shades of departed friends; and their assigning to certain Gods particular offices, as the government of the sea to Neptune, music to Apollo, care of departing spirits and the gymnasia to Mercury, and the business of taking care of seamen in distress to Castor and Pollux. Hence also the many appearances of their Gods as described by Homer and Virgil: all tending to shew, that they thought their Gods, on certain occasions, conversed with men and held intercourse with them; and employed the inferior deities on subordinate purposes. However vicious and wicked then the heathen system might be, and certainly was; yet in many things it had an analogy to truth, and perhaps in some instances originated in truth. But they held the truth in unrighteousness (*Rom. i. 18 &c.*); they became vain and foolish in their imaginations, and most unnaturally wicked in their practices; wherefore God gave them up to a reprobate mind, and to believe a lie.

The miraculous deliverance of Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego sensibly affected Nebuchadnezzar; though it did not convert him from idolatry. He acknowledged that no other God (*v. 29*) could deliver

after such a manner ; but he does not own that there is but one God. Two great points however were gained by the miracle ; liberty of conscience to the Jews in general, and the promotion of those three, who had yielded their bodies (v. 28) to the devouring fire ; that they might not serve nor worship any God except their own God. The king, struck by the miracle which had frustrated all his purposes, not only restored them to their former dignity, but promoted them, (v. 30) i. e. increased their honours and power in the province of Babylon ; and made a decree, enforced by the severest penalties, that no Man should hence forward presume to speak in the least disrespectfully of their God. This decree then would ensure to the Jews the rights of conscience ; and entirely annul Nebuchadnezzar's design of making all his subjects idolaters, and worshippers of his Gods. It gave a signal triumph to the Jews over their adversaries ; and was a standing testimony that the God whom they worshipped was over all, blessed forever, and could deliver his servants from every danger, and support them in every trial of their faith and patience.

Dissertation

6.

CHAPTER IV.

AFTER Nebuchadnezzar had erected and consecrated the golden image in the plain of Dura, he again pursued his projects of conquest by war, and of glory by the arts of peace. Unsatisfied by the spoils of those countries which he had already desolated he laid siege to Tyre; hoping by its capture to gratify both his ambition and avarice. For thirteen years the city resisted his attacks: and when conquest crowned his exertions his hopes of plunder were disappointed; for the inhabitants had removed with all their treasures.

But though he obtained not the wealth of Tyre, yet the treasures of Egypt were destined to be his booty. The prophet Ezekiel says^b "The word of the Lord came unto me, saying, Son of man, Nebuchadrezzar king of Babylon caused his army to serve a great service against Tyrus, every head was made bald and every shoulder was peeled: yet had he no wages, nor his army for Tyrus, for the service that he had served against it. Therefore, thus saith the Lord God, behold! I will give the land of Egypt unto Nebuchadrezzar king of Babylon, and he shall take her multitude,

^b Ezekiel, C xxix. Vs. 17—20.

and take her spoil, and take her prey; and it shall be the wages for his army. I have given him the land of Egypt for his labour wherewith he served against it, because they wrought for me, saith the Lord God." Immediately after the conquest of Tyre this prediction received its accomplishment; for Nebuchadnezzar taking advantage of the intestine troubles which raged in Egypt at that time, marched his army into the country and laid it waste, and then returned to Babylon laden with plunder. After his return he applied his power and his wealth to adorn and beautify his city, and to complete those works which rendered Babylon the Queen of cities in extent, strength, and splendor.

But great prosperity and success, produce and foster pride and self sufficiency: they exalt men to an elevation which renders their fall more evident and conspicuous, and makes them an example to future ages. It is evidently the rule of providence to humble and abase those who exalt themselves; and the instances are numerous by which this is proved to be the conduct of God towards the proud and the haughty.

In addition to the instance of Nebuchadnezzar himself, which forms the subject of this dissertation, many others might be produced; but we shall content ourselves with two, as being very illustrative of the divine government. The death of Apries king of Egypt, the Pharaoh-Hophra of Scripture, and the miserable end of Herod, who was eaten up of worms, fully shew that God brings low the haughtiness of man. Of Apries Herodotus says,^c that he was said to be of opinion, that neither any of the Gods nor of men could take from him his kingdom, since he had so confirmed

^c Herod. L, 2. C. 169.

it to himself: And Ezekiel^d represents him as boasting; "the river is mine and I have made it." But Jeremiah^e thus denounces his fall—"Thus saith the Lord Behold, I will give Pharaoh-Hophra king of Egypt into the hand of his enemies, and into the hand of them that seek his life"—And how exactly this was accomplished is shewn by that passage in Herodotus to which we have already referred: For being taken prisoner by his rival Amasis, he was strangled by the Egyptians in what had formerly been his own royal residence. The miserable end of Herod, who killed James the brother of John, and put Peter in prison, and gave not glory to God, corresponds with the example of Apries: For after he had received the vain applause of the multitude, who said, ^f "it is the voice of a God and not of a man; and immediately the angel of the Lord smote him, because he gave not God the glory, and he was eaten of worms, and gave up the Ghost."

But the madness inflicted upon Nebuchadnezzar is a still more expressive proof of the vanity of human greatness, and of the divine displeasure against pride; because it exhibits human nature, not reduced to death, which is common to all men, but degraded to the lowest state of brutality: a state, in which very few have ever been found. Seventeen years after he had gratified his pride by the erection of the golden image in the plain of Dura, and during his exertions to make Babylon the chief of cities, God was pleased to reveal to him by a dream that severe misfortune, which was soon to befall him: And as he had formerly given him an outline of the history of the world, by the vision of the great image; so now, by the vision of a tree, whose height reached

^d Ezekiel, xxix. 9.^e Jer. xlv. 30.^f Acts. xii. 22, 23.

unto heaven, but which was hewn down, and his branches cut off, his own reverse of power and greatness was depicted.

"Thus," says he, (v. 10—17) "were the visions of mine head in my bed: I saw, and behold a tree in the midst of the earth, and the height thereof was great. The tree grew, and was strong; and the height thereof reached unto heaven, and the sight thereof to the end of all the earth: the leaves thereof were fair, and the fruit thereof much; And in it was meat for all: the beasts of the field had shadow uuder it, and the fowls of the heaven dwelt in the boughs thereof, and all flesh was fed of it.—I saw in the visions of my head upon my bed, and behold a watcher and an holy one came down from heaven; he cried aloud and said thus: Hew down the tree, and cut off his branches; shake off his leaves and scatter his fruit; let the beasts get away from under it, and the fowls from his branches. Nevertheless, leave the stump of his roots in the earth, even with a band of iron and brass, in the tender grass of the field, and let it be wet with the dew of heaven; and let his portion be with the beasts in the grass of the earth. Let his heart be changed from man's, and let a beast's heart be given unto him; and let seventimes pass over him. This matter is by the decree of the watchers, and the demand by the word of the holy ones: to the intent that the living may know that the Most High ruleth in the kingdom of men, and giveth it to whomsoever he will, and setteth up over it the basest of men."

The tree, which Nebuchadnezzar saw, was a fit emblem of his mighty and extensive empire, and of his own personal power and extensive dominion. For as its height was great, reaching unto heaven; its leaves

fair; its fruit much, affording meat for all; and as its shadow gave a retreat to the beasts of the field, and the fowls of heaven dwelt in its boughs: So his sway extended over a large proportion of the world as known at that time: the numbers of his armies were like the leaves; and his revenues were vast; And so, also, numbers of people obtained power, dignity, and wealth, by the offices of state, the increase of commerce, and the great stupendous works which he erected.

A tree indeed seems to have been a common emblem for an empire; for under a form of this kind, Xerxes had a vision representing his present glory and future disgrace. He dreamt^s that he was crowned with the twigs of an olive, whose branches spread over the whole earth: but that the crown upon his head vanished away. This dream his flattering Magi interpreted as portending universal empire: but future events soon taught him, that though his empire was then vast, yet his power would vanish away. Under the same emblem Ezekiel (xxxi. 3—6) describes the Assyrian empire. "Behold the Assyrian was a cedar in Lebanon, with fair branches and with a shadowing shroud, and of an high stature; and his top was among the thick boughs.—His height was exalted above all the trees of the field; and his boughs were multiplied; and his branches became long, because of the multitude of waters when he shot forth. All the fowls of heaven made their nests in his boughs and under his branches did all the beasts of the field bring forth their young, and under his shadow dwelt all great nations." In the Eightieth Psalm the kingdom of Israel is most beautifully exhibited by the same metaphor. "Thou hast brought a vine out of Egypt—Thou preparedst room before it, and didst cause it

^s Herod. L. 7. S. 19.

to take deep root, and it filled the land. The hills were covered with the shadow of it, and the boughs thereof were like the goodly cedars. She sent out her boughs unto the Sea, and her branches unto the river."

But great and eminent as was the power of Nebuchadnezzar, yet it was to be taken from him; and, for a limited time, he was to exhibit an awful spectacle of degradation of mind as well as loss of power: "*For* (v. 13) *behold a watcher and an holy one came down from heaven,*" who denounced his punishment, by the cutting down of the tree which represented his dominion and greatness. By the watcher and holy one, or, more properly according to Wintle's translation, "*a Watcher even an holy one,*" we are to understand one of those angels who are employed by God in the administration of his providence; and of whom mention is so frequently made in the book of Daniel. The subject of providence, like all other subjects when carried up to the highest pitch of which our minds are capable, is involved in mystery and darkness; and objections may be made by obstinate unbelief, which it is difficult to satisfy. But angels are evidently employed by the surest testimony of scripture, in conducting the affairs of the world. At the destruction of the profligate cities of Sodom and Gomorrah, angels appeared to Abraham. An angel foretold the birth of John the baptist; and announced to Mary that she should be the Mother of the Messiah. Angels proclaimed to the Shepherds the birth of Christ; and during our Lord's ministry he frequently received their aid, for in the wilderness they ministered unto him, and in the garden strengthened him. They are indeed expressly declared to be ministering spirits; and must therefore, as such, have certain offices and

work assigned them in the general economy of the universe.

On the subject of angels, that great master in divinity, the learned Mede says (lib. 1. disc. 10); " It is hard to keep a mean, which as it appears in many things else, so in the doctrine and speculation of angels, whereunto men were heretofore so much addicted; as they pursued it not only to vain and ungrounded theories, but even to idolatry and superstition.

But we, who together with divers superstitions, have justly rejected also these vain and ungrounded curiosities, are fallen into the other extreme, having buried the doctrine of angels in silence, making little or no enquiry at all what God in his word hath revealed concerning them: Which yet would make not a little for the understanding of scripture wherein are so many passages having reference to them, and therefore unquestionless something revealed concerning them."

As, then, on many other occasions angels were sent to carry the divine messages, so one, under the name of watcher, or vigil, appears to Nebuchadnezzar in his dream. The term watcher well corresponds with the offices and employments of angels, for (*Psalm*, xxxiv. 7) " The angel of the Lord encampeth round about them that fear him, and delivereth them," acting as their guard, and keeping watch for their safety. To which idea also exactly corresponds that part of the history of Elisha (*2 Kings*, vi. 17) when he prayed; " Lord I pray thee open his eyes that he may see. And the Lord opened the eyes of the young man, and he saw, and behold the mountain was full of horses and chariots of fire round about Elisha." Now these horses and chariots of fire must refer to angels who kept watch and guard around the prophet; and of whom he said, to the young man, " Fear not, for

they that be with us, are more than they that be with them."—The term holy, which is also given to the watcher is applied by our Lord himself to the angels, when he says, (*Matthew*, xxv. 31) "The son of man shall come in his glory, and all the holy angels with him." And as angels are employed in the economy of providence as Messengers; so the Septuagint renders the Hebrew word, which we translate Watcher, by a term, *eir*, from whence is evidently derived the *Ir*, or *Iris* of the heathen mythology; which, when considered as a person, it is well known, was the messenger of the Gods.

It should however be mentioned, that several very learned men have considered the watcher in the thirteenth verse, as denoting the second person; and the Watchers and holy ones, in the seventeenth verse, to mean the three persons in the Holy Trinity: While others of equal learning, and, as I think, with more propriety, have considered them as angels. The change of Number from the singular to the plural, which takes place in the thirteenth and seventeenth verses, and that part of the seventeenth verse which says, "*This matter is by the decree of the watchers, and the demand by the word of the holy ones,*" are thought by some to indicate the Trinity: and especially, as it is said, "*this matter is by the decree of the Watchers;*" since, say they, Angels cannot with propriety be said to decree any thing.

But as to the change of number, it may be answered that there is an evident distinction in the seventeenth verse, between the Watchers and the Most High; and that therefore they do not refer to the same person. The Watcher of the thirteenth verse evidently speaks as a messenger, and delivers a message with which other Watchers were connected. But several parts of

scripture shew, that one angel is at times employed as the immediate messenger or instrument in a business, with which other angels are also connected. To cite but two instances. The first is (*1. Kings*, xxii. 19—22) “ I saw the Lord, (says Micaiah,) sitting on his throne and all the host of heaven standing by him on his right hand and on his left. And the Lord said who shall persuade Ahab, that he may go up; and fall at Ramoth Gilead, And one said on this manner, and another said on that manner; and there came forth a spirit and stood before the Lord, and said, I will persuade him. And the Lord said unto him, wherewith? And he said, I will go forth, and be a lying Spirit in the mouth of all his prophets; and he said thou shalt persuade him and prevail also, go forth and do so.” Now whatever may be the particular interpretation of this passage, it is plain that it conveys the idea of many angels being concerned or connected, to a certain extent, with the business of which one is especially the manager: And that is all for which at present the passage is adduced. The second instance is the annunciation of our Lord’s birth by an angel. In *Luke* (ii. 9—13) the event is thus described: “ And lo, the Angel of the Lord came upon them, and the glory of the Lord shone round about them.” And as soon as this one angel had delivered his message; “ Suddenly there was with the angel a multitude of the heavenly host.”—One angel is evidently then employed as the messenger, or as the instrument in a business, with which others are also connected: though we may not be informed of the whole nature and extent of that connection.

But still it may be objected against the interpretation of the Watchers being Angels: How can Angels, with propriety, be said to decree any thing; which

the Watchers are said to do? Now we admit, that *absolutely* Angels cannot be said to decree: But nothing hinders that *relatively* they may decree. Under the direction and command of the Most High, they may justly be considered as issuing a decree or announcing what shall happen. Our translation thus renders the beginning of the seventeenth verse of our present chapter: "*This matter is by the decree of the Watchers, and the demand by the word of the holy ones.*" The same passage is translated by Wintle: "*By the decree of the Watchers is the matter; even according to the word of the holy ones is the business.*" This passage is, therefore, like many others in scripture, a double sentence: both members of which have the same idea, though the terms be different. Decree and Demand, or decree and word, are here the same in signification. If then we take the term, word, as explanatory of decree, the idea is, simply this: The evils about to befall Nebuchadnezzar, shall take place according to the declaration of the Watcher, with whom other watchers are associated. Or if we take the term, demand, as explanatory of decree; it is very scriptural to suppose the holy and good angels, as demanding justice upon a proud and impious king from the Most High, whose power and might he did not duly acknowledge, and had desolated the earth, and especially Jerusalem, by his lust of power, and by his ambition: For the souls of the Saints under the altar, (*Rev.* vi. 10) "cried with a loud voice, saying, how long, O Lord, holy and true, dost thou not judge and avenge our blood, on them that dwell on the earth:" Our Lord also says, (*Luke*, xviii. 7, 8); "Shall not God avenge his own elect which cry day and night unto him, though he bear long with them? I tell you that he will avenge them speedily." And "the angel (*Zecha.* i. 12) of the Lord answered and said,

O Lord of Hosts, how long wilt thou not have mercy on Jerusalem; and on the cities of Judah, against which thou hast had indignation these three score and ten years?" If then the souls of the Saints, and the elect are described as calling for vengeance; and the angel as imploring mercy for the Jews; it is perfectly scriptural to consider the angels as demanding vengeance upon a proud and haughty king. In addition it may be observed, that it is more improper to consider the persons in the Trinity as making a demand; for of whom can they be supposed to make one? than to consider the angels as making a decree, which relatively they may well be supposed to do. Our conclusion therefore is, that by the Watchers we are to understand angels.

As Nebuchadnezzar's crime was pride and self exultation, so his punishment was to reduce him to the lowest degree of humiliation and debasement: As he seemed to imagine himself more than human; he was to be reduced to a level with the brutes. Now as a general explanation of his punishment, we will quote what Mead the Physician has written on the subject. "Those things, which are related concerning Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon, seem so wonderful and beyond nature, that some interpreters have dreamed that he was really turned into a beast. But these were the things that happened to him; being driven from among men, he dwelt for seven years among the beasts, and being fed with herbs after the manner of oxen, his body was wet with the dew of heaven: his hair and his nails grew like those of birds: But at the expiration of the time he came to himself; and the majesty of his kingdom with increased glory was restored to him. His crime had been pride and contempt of God.

"Now all these things so agree to an insane and mel-

ancholy person, that to me it appears certain, that this king being deranged in mind, wandered among the fields; and, since he imagined that he was turned into an ox, eat herbs like cattle: For all insanity, as I shall afterwards shew, is the disease of a disordered imagination, with which being afflicted during seven years he spent a wretched life. Moreover, by neglecting the care of his body, his hairs and nails grew to a prodigious length; and from hence becoming more thick and bent inwards, they resembled the claws of birds.

“The ancient Physicians called this a Wolfish or canine madness, and those affected by it Lycanthropoi or Kynanthropoi; Who, they said, used to wander about in the night imitating wolves or dogs;—to open the tombs of the dead, and to have their legs very much ulcerated by frequent falls, and the bites of dogs.

“After this manner the daughters of Prætus are said to have been deranged; for they, according to Virgil, Filled the fields with unreal lowings: For, as Servius observes, Juno sent upon their minds that derangement, that thinking themselves cows, they wandered into the woods, lowed greatly, and were afraid of the plough. But, according to Ovid, Melampus the Physician freed them from their madness by means of herbs and music. Nor has an affection of this kind been unknown in our times: for Schenckius mentions a remarkable example of it in a Paturnian husbandman, who appeared to himself a wolf, and attacked and slew many in the fields; and being at length taken, he constantly asserted that he was a real wolf, and that the only difference was in his skin with its hair being turned inwards.”

In addition to this explanation of Nebuchadnezzar's

punishment, as given by Mead ; we shall quote from the Universal history ^h what its authors have extracted from Calmet. "The most received opinion is, that by the power of God, Nebuchadnezzar fell into a black melancholy, and under this oppression of mind fancied himself an ox, as in a Lycanthropy a man persuades himself he is a wolf, a dog, a cat ; a change which exists no where, but in the distempered brain, nor to be discovered but by his motions and behaviour, which tend to the imitation of a wolf in his rapacity, howling and desire to range the country, and flying from men : that after some such manner it must have been that this king became an ox, and agitated with all the affections and desires of one : that his people astonished at such an alteration bound him as a madman : but that escaping from them he fled into the fields, and lived after the manner of an ox."

The accounts, which we have in Virgil of the daughters of Prætus, who imagined themselves cows ; of Lycaon, in Ovid, who thought himself a wolf ; and of Bellerophon in Homer, who avoided the intercourse of men, are all more or less similar to what was denounced against Nebuchadnezzar : But the accounts given in the New Testament of some of those who were possessed with Devils, and in a state of madness, are still more explanatory of his case. 'The two men (*Matthew* viii. 28) who were possessed with Devils, were so exceeding fierce, that no man might pass by that way. And (*Mark* v. 2—5) the man, who had an unclean spirit, had his dwellings among the tombs, and could not be bound even with chains, and always, night and day, was in the mountains, and in the tombs, crying, and cutting himself with stones. If then we compare these different examples with the case of the

^h Un. hist. v. 4. P. 413.

proud king of Babylon, it is evident that he was reduced to a state of extreme madness, and made lower than the brute: And instead of now being a leader of armies, and a chief in counsel; he takes his dwelling with the beasts, and loses his rationality.

But awful and degrading as was Nebuchadnezzar's punishment, yet it was to be tempered with mercy: "And (v. 26) whereas," says Daniel, "they commanded to leave the stump of the tree roots; thy kingdom shall be sure unto thee after that thou shalt have known that the heavens do rule." Though the tree was commanded to be cut down, yet its stump and roots were to remain entire, from which another shoot might arise: So the foundation of the king's authority continued; and when his reason returned to him, his power was restored. During his seven years' insanity his kingdom would, most probably, be managed by a regency; who, both from loyalty and affection, would be ready to restore his dominion, when he was perceived fit for the exercise of the functions of royalty: For when (v. 36) his reason returned, "my counsellors and my lords," says he, "sought unto me, and I was established in my kingdom, and excellent majesty was added unto me." There is indeed some proof, that during Nebuchadnezzar's insanity, the kingdom was managed by his Son Evilmerodach as regent: For Prideaux¹ says; "Jérôme tells us, from an ancient tradition of the Jews, that Evilmerodach having had the government of the Babylonian Empire during his father's distraction, administered it so ill, that as soon as the old king came again to himself, he put him in prison for it."

¹Prid. v. 1. p. 106.

The stump of the roots of the tree was to be left, "even with a band of iron and brass, in the tender grass of the field," to shew, that as a band of iron and brass put over the stump would prevent its injury or decay; so the king's power should remain secure, though his exercise of it should be suspended for seven years. Some difficulty has been found in explaining the "band of iron and brass." But if we keep in mind, that to preserve a tree from decay, it is a common practice to put a band, or covering of lead over that part from which a bough has been taken away, the difficulty will be removed. A band or covering of this kind preserves the tree from decay, and from the injurious action of the atmosphere upon that part which is destitute of bark: So Nebuchadnezzar's power was to be preserved from injury, or decay, though it was to be suspended.

In the behaviour of Daniel towards the king, after the explanation of his vision, we see a noble instance of prudence and honesty: He fears not to give him advice, which, however unpleasant, was peculiarly necessary. This faithful prophet fears not to reprove a mighty king; he says, (v: 27) " Wherefore, O king, let my counsel be acceptable unto thee, and break off thy sins by righteousness, and thine iniquities by shewing mercy to the poor, if it may be a lengthening of thy tranquillity. " But this advice seems not to have been followed: Elated with his greatness, and exulting in his power and the grandeur of his capital, Nebuchadnezzar seems to have thought himself beyond the reach of misfortune, and secure from danger. A year elapsed between the vision, and the execution of the threatened punishment; that the king might have opportunity to adopt the advice which Daniel had given. But pride was too predominate to permit him

to yield to it; he acts and speaks, as if independent of heaven: For "at the end of twelve months he walked in the palace of the kingdom of Babylon," perhaps on the top of the hanging gardens, from which he could survey the whole city, "And he said; is not this great Babylon that I have built for the house of the kingdom, by the might of my power, and for the honour of my majesty?" He ascribes no glory to God; no praise to the Most High; he speaks, as if he were the sole author of his own greatness, and the entire cause of his own power. But he soon felt the stroke of the Almighty too powerful for resistance; for in that same hour was he deprived of reason; and made lower than the brute.

But though Daniel's advice had little or no influence on Nebuchadnezzar, yet punishment had. When his reason was restored to him, he felt and acknowledged his dependence on God; he was ready to consider himself as an example to others, and as an instance of wonder and mercy. He therefore wrote an account of all that befel him, and addressed it to all people, nations and languages; that they might know the power and wonders of the Most High; and see, by his own case, that "those that walk in pride he is able to abase."

About a year after his restoration to reason, Nebuchadnezzar died; and as his history now closes, it may be proper to conclude with what Josephus says of him. "Nebuchadnezzar, in fine, was a prince very industrious, and much more fortunate than any of his ancestors. He departed this life in the three and fortieth Year of his Age. Berosus in the third Book of his Chaldean History, makes mention of it in these

words: Nabuchodonosor the Father, says he, under standing that a certain great Officer of his, to whom he had committed the Government of Egypt, Cœle—Syria, and Phœnicia, was fallen off from his allegiance; and not being in a Condition of Body himself, to bear the fatigues of the war in his own Person, he sent his Son Nebuchodonosor, with part of his Army, to reduce him to his obedience. He found him out, fought and overcame him, and so brought back the revolted Provinces to their Duty. The Father, in the mean time, was taken away by a Sickness at Babylon, in the one and twentieth Year of his Reign. The young Man was no sooner informed of the Death of his Father, but he took immediate Care for the settling of his affairs in Egypt, and the rest of the Provinces; recommending to some particular Friends the Charge of conveying his Prisoners, Jews, Syrians, Phœnicians, and Egyptians, to Babylon, with the army and Baggage, while he himself, with a small Retinue, took his Way thither over the Desert, The Government was reserved for him in the mean while by the Chaldeans, and by the great Men among them, in his absence, secured till his Return; so that when he came to enter upon the administration, he was established in the full Possession of his paternal Empire. The first thing he did, was, to make a commodious Distribution of his Captives into Colonies; and after that, to adorn and illustrate the Temple of Belus, and other religious Places, with Spoils of War. He repaired and enlarged the ancient Edifices of the City, and raised Works upon the Banks of the River, to prevent all Approaches that Way. He erected three Walls or Retrenchments within the bounds of the City, and as many without, all Brick-work: And when he had fortified the Town after this remarkable Manner, he beautified the Gates

with a Curiosity of Frontispiece, like the finishing of the Temple-Work; and advanced another Palace contiguous to that of his Father's with all possible Art and Magnificence; but the Particulars are too many, and would be too long for this Place. There is only one thing that I cannot but take Notice of; which is, that this spacious and stately Fabric was finished in fifteen Days. In this Building there were vast Stones supported upon Arches, that looked like Mountains hanging in the Air: and they were planted on the top, with several sorts of Trees, in a compliment to the Queen, who, being a Median, had a passionate desire to see some artificial Resemblance of the Gardens and Rarities of her own country. Megasthenes, in the fourth Volume of his History of India, speaks of these Garden-works, and sets forth this King, both for his Enterprize and for his Performances, to have been much superior to Hercules himself; having subdued the greatest part of Libya, and likewise Ibenia. Diocles makes mention of this King, in the second Book of his Persian History; and so does Philostratus, in the account he gives of the Phœnicians and the Indians; telling, how this Prince, in the days of Ithobal, King of Tyre, maintained a Siege of thirteen Years against that Town. And this is all I can find among the Historians concerning him."*

* Josephus. lib. x. c. 11.

Dissertation

7.

CHAPTER V.

AFTER the death of Nebuchadnezzar, his son Evil Merodach ascended the throne of Babylon. But his reign was short and inglorious: For after he had swayed the Sceptre two years; his subjects, no longer able to endure his wickedness and tyranny, conspired against and slew him. His sister's husband Neriglissar, who headed the conspiracy, became Monarch of the empire; and during four years conducted its affairs with skill and bravery. But the destruction of the Babylonian empire was hastening apace; for the Medes and Persians defeated him and his allies, and he fell in battle, by the victorious arms of Cyrus. After his death, his son Laborosoarchod, a weak and wicked prince succeeded to the government; but after a tyrannical reign of nine months he fell a victim to the rage of an injured people, and Belshazzar, the subject of the present chapter, became the last of the Babylonian monarchs. But Belshazzar was also weak and wicked, and Babylon would soon have fallen, had not Nitocris, his mother, by her prudence and skill, for a while, maintained its sinking fortune. For seventeen years she managed the affairs of the empire; while her son

devoted himself to luxury and pleasure. But the night arrived in which Babylon the great was to fall, and her king and her nobles to perish by the sword.

For two years the Medo-Persian army, under the command of Cyrus, had besieged the city; while the inhabitants, confident in the strength of their fortifications and the abundance of their provisions, derided his efforts: Having collected supplies of food for twenty years, and possessing vacant ground within the walls, which by tillage and pasturage would supply much more, they imagined themselves safe from danger. They thought themselves so secure, that they might, without fear, celebrate their usual festivals to their Gods: "Belshazzar," (v. 1—4) therefore, "made a great feast to a thousand of his Lords, and drank wine before the thousand. Belshazzar, while he tasted the wine, commanded to bring the golden and silver vessels, which his father Nebuchadnezzar had taken out of the temple, which was in Jerusalem, that the king and his princes, his wives and his concubines, might drink therein. Then they brought the golden vessels that were taken out of the temple of the house of God, which was at Jerusalem: and the king and his princes, his wives and his concubines drank in them. They drank wine, and praised the Gods of gold and of silver, of brass, of iron, of wood and of stone."

Now it is evident that this feast was a festival in honour of their false Gods: for Herodotus^m informs us, that Babylon was taken by Cyrus; but that, since it was a festal day, the people continued dancing and

^l Prid. An. 561—559. Un. Hist. V. 4. P. 416—420.

^m Herod. lib. 1.

feasting till the complete success of their enemies apprised them of the capture of their city. And Xenophon^a tells us, that when the city was taken; they were drinking in the palace till the light was far advanced. We also learn from Athenæus, on the testimony of Berosus,^b that during five days, a festival was wont to be celebrated at Babylon, in which the slaves ruled their masters, and appointed one from amongst them to govern the house, and wear a robe like the king's. And as it is clear, both from Scripture, Herodotus, and Xenophon, that the Persians were Masters of Babylon before its inhabitants, from drunkenness, were aware of their danger; so, it is most probable, that it was taken, either on the feast mentioned by Athenæus, or on some one similar.

The place, in which Belshazzar held his feast, must, from the number of the company, have been very capacious; and hence, seems not to have been an ordinary room, but a court, or yard, such as is mentioned, (*Esther*, i, 5.) ; when Ahasuerus "the king made a feast unto all the people that were present in Shushan the palace, both unto great and small, seven days, *in the court of the garden of the king's palace.*" These reports, Mr. Harmer informs us, on the authority of Dr. Shaw,^c were the place in which the company were received and entertained, when the party consisted of great numbers. And that when a large company is to be received into them, they "are commonly sheltered from the heat and inclemency of the weather by a velum, umbrella, or veil, which being expanded upon ropes from one side of the parapet-wall to the other, may be folded, or unfolded at pleasure."

^a Xen. Cyrop. lib. 7.

^b See Pole's Syn. v.3. p. 864.

^c Harmer's obs. 4th, Ed. v 1. p. 300—5.

"Answerably to this way of treating a large company in the court of a building," says Mr. Harmer, "we are naturally led to suppose the feast made by Belshazzar to a thousand of his lords, when he drank wine before the thousand, was held in a quadrangle of his palace; which possibly may help to explain some passages of this transaction better than has hitherto been done."

As Belshazzar had been able so long to resist the attacks of the besiegers, and imagined himself and city in a state of security by the protection of his Gods; he therefore celebrated this feast with all magnificence and splendour. The God of the Hebrews became the object of his scorn and derision; and, as a triumph over him, the king ordered the vessels, which had been taken from the temple at Jerusalem, to be brought, that he, and his guests, might drink out of them, and exult over them. They vainly supposed that their dumb idols of gold and silver, of wood and stone, defended and preserved them; and to them they gave the praise. When the king had drunk freely, and the wine had inflamed his passions, then he gave way to vain exultation over the true God, and extolled those that are no Gods. "Wine," says Harmer,¹ "is often the occasion of exciting great emotions of an untoward kind of tenderness towards the dead, and of devotion; which last might be the cause of Belshazzar's sending for the sacred vessels taken from the temple of Jerusalem, finding, as the wine operated, a most melting devotion rising towards the idols that he imagined had given the Babylonians power to subdue Jerusalem, and finish the conquest of the Jewish nation."

¹ Harmer's obs. 4th Edit. v. 2nd p. 139.

“So have I known a lady, when mellow with strong liquors, burst into a flood of tears, upon mentioning a deceased mother; and Sir. J. Chardin has given us a very droll, but painful description of the drunken bouts of some of the Eastern Christians, as an illustration of the nature of the devotion of Belshazzar towards his idols, when he began to grow drunk. It is the custom of the greatest part of the Eastern Christians, and above all of the Iberians, and the people of Colchis, when they are drunk, to lift up their eyes to heaven, beat themselves on the breast, to sigh and sob, remorse for their sins awakening, and their fear of future punishment operating afresh.” Similar to this is the description which travellers give of the inhabitants of some parts of the Russian empire, and especially during the Feast of Easter; when it is considered almost a part of religion to be well drenched with strong liquors.

But however Belshazzar might prophane the God of heaven, and extol his own idols, yet he was doomed that night to feel his vengeance, and experience his power. Babylon was destined to fall; and her impious king, amidst his jollity and superstition, was to read the sentence of his own, and his empire's destruction, and experience that stroke from the God of the Jews, which should terminate his power and his life. For, (v. 5) “ in the same hour, came forth fingers of a man's hand, and wrote over against the candlestick upon the plaister of the wall of the king's palace: And the king saw the part of the hand that wrote.” We have already observed that Belshazzar's feast was held, not in an ordinary room, but in a court, or yard; and as a further explanation of the place, and the manner, in which the writing appeared, we shall quote what Mr. Harmer says, as deduced from Sir. J. Chardin's

M. S. He observes, ' " two things ought to be remarked here; the one, that our painters err, when in painting this history they draw a silver sconce with a wax candle in it, such as formerly were placed in great houses, as appears by the Septuagint, who make use of a term which signifies a lamp (or torch); nor ordinarily are candles made use of in the East: The other, that by the word candlestick, is not to be understood an utensil for the reception of a candle, but of a quantity of tallow, according to the usages of the East. Further, over against the candlestick, is not to be understood to mean, near the candlestick; but opposite to the candlestick, where its light was principally directed. A sconce would ill agree with the oriental manner of sitting on the ground. Three things then are to be taken notice of here. First, in what part of the house the writing appeared; secondly the nature of the candlestick; and lastly, the place of the writing with respect to the candlestick, or range of candlesticks. This is the sum of what this gentleman has remarked upon this head."

"Perhaps the illustration may advance a little nearer completeness, if we add the following particulars; in the first place, that most probably this feast was held in some open court of the palace. The present customs of the East; the number of the people at this entertainment; and the place where another king of Persia held a solemn feast, all concur to establish this sentiment."

"Secondly, that the candlestick of course may be imagined to be some very large utensil, with one or more very large lamps, sufficient to illuminate this area in a splendid and royal manner. It ap-

* Harm's obs. v. l. p. 301. ed. 4th.

pears by the term made use of, that there was but one candlestick. One candlestick, however, we know might have several lamps; since that made for the tabernacle of Moses had seven: Belshazzar's might have more. When Mr. Hanway was treated in Persia one evening, by a person of some distinction, he tells us, there stood in the court yard a large lamp, supplied with tallow, and in the middle of the room, on the floor, was a wax candle. If one large tallow lamp sufficed for the court yard of a person of some distinction, a very large candlestick, with many such lamps, might do very well for this court of the palace of Belshazzar."

"Thirdly, *over against the candlestick on the plaister of the wall of the king's palace*, may very naturally be explained, of the wall of that side of the quadrangle opposite to where Belshazzar sat. This was the proper place for the appearance of the writing to catch the eye of the king; and the Chaldee word may extremely well be so interpreted. This consideration may ease some difficulties that otherwise would occur; for if we were to understand it of a room in the palace; where should we suppose the plastering of the wall was? Their ceilings are now wont to be of wainscot artfully painted, or thrown into a variety of pannels, with gilded mouldings, and scrolls of writing. The lower half of the side walls are covered and adorned with velvet and damask hangings, according to Dr. Shaw; And the upper part embellished with most ingenious devices in stucco and fret work, according to him: And at Aleppo, according to Dr. Russel's description and his drawings, with pannels of wainscot, and paintings, or carvings, of flowers, leaves, and inscriptions. Where then shall we suppose the fatal writing appeared? Where the plastering on the

wall ? The inclosing themselves in cedar, the ceiling with precious wood, and the painting in an ornamental way, were things used before the times of Belshazzar, and in the palaces of princes, whose dominions were by no means equal to his in extent or riches. (*Jer.* xxii. 14, 15.). But if we suppose the writing on the external surface of one side of the quadrangle, that side opposite to the candlestick, and to where the king sat, it is very easy to explain, its being on the plastering of the wall: Babylon was not a country for stone; bricks were used there as a succedaneum, (*Gen.* xi 3); and Sir. J. Chardin in his M. S. S. describes brick work as often plastered over."

In a place therefore so conspicuous, and to a company so vast, the fatal writing appeared. An awful interruption of their jollity immediately ensued, and amazement and terror seized the king; for his "countenance (v 6.) was changed, and his thoughts troubled him, so that the joints of his loins were loosed, and his knees smote one against another." He now felt the hand of the Almighty upon him, and the dread of danger overwhelming him. He perceived, as by a secret impulse, as well as by the visible fingers, that his ruin was at hand: He therefore cried aloud, with might, or great eagerness, for the Astrologers and Soothsayers to be brought, that they might read and interpret the writing for him. On such an occasion one would have supposed that Daniel, who had formerly distinguished himself so much by his wisdom, would have been first called to read and explain the dreadful sentence: But he could not be a favourite at the court of so wicked and idolatrous a prince as Belshazzar; to whom his counsels could not be pleasing, and who held Daniel's God in scorn and derision.

Mr. Harmer* supposes that Daniel was not called in to read and explain the writing; because he had been *Mazouled*, or displaced from his office or dignity on the death of Nebuchadnezzar, for not predicting it. "I collect from hence (says Sir. John Chardin, i. e. from the queen-mother's recommending to Belshazzar to consult Daniel) that Daniel had been *Mazouled*, at the death of the king: For in the East, when the king dies, the Physicians and Astrologers are displaced; the first for not having driven death away; and the other, for not having predicted it. This the thirteenth verse confirms." But it is most probable, that it had happened to Daniel, as it generally happens to good and able ministers, when a new and vicious monarch succeeds to the throne: He was no doubt neglected and set aside by the profligate prince Evil-Merodach, who sought for ministers, who would pander to his vices, and unite with him in idolatry. Daniel and his countrymen were, no doubt, despised, if not hated, because they would not worship the vain idols of the Babylonians: and it is evident, from the exultation of Belshazzar and his nobles, when they drank out of the vessels of the temple of Jerusalem, that their joy was a kind of religious triumph over the God of the Jews, and his worshippers. But as Belshazzar did not immediately succeed Nebuchadnezzar, but was preceded on the throne by Evil-Merodach, Neriglissar, and Laborosoarchod, we may be assured that, during their reigns, though very short, many changes would take place in the great officers of state; and that, under such circumstances, Belshazzar might have no personal acquaintance with Daniel, though it is plain he knew him by name: For he says

* Harm. v. 3. p. 90.

(v. 13); " Art thou that Daniel, who art of the children of the captivity of Judah, whom the king my father brought out of Jewry? " And the manner, in which he expresses himself, shews that, independent of what Nitocris the queen-mother had said of Daniel, he had some recollection of his name and character.

But though Belshazzar did not, in the first instance, send for Daniel; yet the ignorance of the wise men soon shewed the necessity of his superior wisdom and knowledge: And as Nitocris the queen-mother was well acquainted with his abilities, she says to the king (v. 11, 12.); " There is a man in thy kingdom, in whom is the spirit of the holy Gods; and in the days of thy father, light and understanding and wisdom, like the wisdom of the Gods, was found in him; whom the king Nebuchadnezzar thy father, the king, I say, thy father, made master of the Magicians, Astrologers, Chaldeans, and Soothsayers: For as much as an excellent spirit and knowledge, and understanding, interpreting of dreams, and shewing of hard sentences, and dissolving of doubts, were found in the same Daniel, whom the king named Belteshazzar: Now let Daniel be called, and he will shew the interpretation." The wisdom and talents of Nitocris were great and splendid. She was a woman of extraordinary abilities, and chiefly managed the affairs of the empire; and, while her son gave himself up to pleasure and licentiousness, she did all that human prudence could effect, to support his sinking throne. She perfected the works which Nebuchadnezzar had commenced for the defence of Babylon; raised strong fortifications on the side of the river; and caused a wonderful vault to be made under it, leading from the old palace to the new, twelve feet high and fifteen

wide. She likewise built a bridge across the Euphrates, and did several other works, which were afterwards ascribed to Nebuchadnezzar. ^t She is called in our chapter, the queen: But says Prideaux; ^u “the queen that entered the banqueting house, to direct the king to call for Daniel, could not be his wife. For all his wives and concubines, the text tells us, sat with him at the feast. And therefore it must have been Nitocris the queen-mother. And she seemeth to have been there called the queen, by way of eminency; because she had the regency of the kingdom under her son; which her great wisdom eminently qualified her for. And Belshazzar seemeth to have left this entirely to her management.” Prideaux does indeed suppose that Daniel was unknown even by name, to Belshazzar: But this we have shewn to be improbable; because it is not likely that a man of such distinguished abilities, and high dignity to which he had been exalted by Nebuchadnezzar in the empire, could be unknown by name to Belshazzar, though it is plain, he had no personal acquaintance with him. But though the king knew so little of Daniel, yet Nitocris was not so ignorant: She, no doubt, not only knew, but admired the prophet in the conduct of public affairs; and, from past experience, had obtained proof of his wisdom and integrity. She informs Belshazzar, that Nebuchadnezzar the king, his father, had made Daniel *Master* of the Magicians, and Astrologers; that she may convince him of the prophet’s superior knowledge and abilities. But when she calls Nebuchadnezzar, Belshazzar’s father, it is to be understood in that *large* sense, which is often used in scripture, by which, any ancestor upward is called father; and any

^t Un. Hist. v. 4. p. 419. Prid. An. 539.

^u idem.

descendent downward is called son: As when (1 Kings, xv. 3.) it is said of Abijam the great-grandson of David; "his heart was not perfect with the Lord his God, as the heart of David his father." In like manner, Nitocris calls Nebuchadnezzar, Belshazzar's father; though in reality he was his grandfather.

Various reasons have been assigned, why the wise men could not read the writing on the wall. Some have supposed that the characters were abbreviated, as, M. T. P. or that the letters standing alone without vowel points, could not be easily understood in their detached form: And Prideaux * says, "the reason why they could not read it, was, because it was written in the old Hebrew letters, now called the Samaritan character, which the Babylonians knew nothing of." But Wintle translates the eighth verse in such a manner, as to convey the idea that the wise men could read, but not interpret it: For his translation is, "Then came in all the king's wise men, but they were unable to read the writing, so as to make known the interpretation to the king." But whether they could read the writing or not, it is clear they could not interpret it; and their inability to give the king information increased his distress: For (v. 9.) he was "greatly troubled, and his countenance was changed in him, and his Lords were astonished." And now the Servant and prophet of the true God has an opportunity of shewing his superior skill, united with fidelity and piety; and as he had shewn to Nebuchadnezzar, that Madness should befall him because of his pride, and had exhorted him to repentance; so

* Prid. v. 1. p. 123.

he now has an opportunity of reproving Belshazzar's impiety, and of denouncing the immediate fall of his power and empire. He reminds the impious king of what had befallen Nebuchadnezzar; of the degradation which he had suffered both as a king and a man, and of the misfortunes resulting from his pride and self-sufficiency. But Daniel is not content with referring to the events of Nebuchadnezzar's life; he brings the subject home to Belshazzar's own conscience, and says, (v. 22—25) "And thou his son, O Belshazzar, hast not humbled thine heart, *though thou knewest all this*. But hast lifted up thyself against the Lord of heaven, and they have brought the vessels of his house before thee, and thou and thy Lords, thy wives, and thy concubines, have drunk wine in them; and thou hast praised the Gods of silver and gold, of brass, iron, wood, and stone, which see not, nor hear, nor know: And the God, in whose hand thy breath is, and whose are all thy ways, hast thou not glorified. Then was the part of the hand sent from him, And this writing was written

MENE. MENE. TEKEL. UPHARSIN."

The word, *mene*, signifies to number, or reckon up; And is used twice, to denote the certainty of the fulfilment of the denunciation,—that God had numbered Belshazzar's kingdom, and would now immediately put an end to his empire. *Tekel* is, in Chaldee, the same as the Hebrew word *Shekel*, which signifies to weigh; as in particular to weigh money, in order to ascertain its value: and hence among the Hebrews the *Shekel*, i. e. the *weight*, was the standard to which their other weights were reduced. As then the Merchant, or Tradesman takes out his Balances and money weights, and weighs the money which he receives to ascertain whether it be deficient; so God

had found Belshazzar, wanting in all that was good, and had doomed him to destruction. In Eastern countries it was the custom, and still remains the custom of taking money by weight: And the same practice continues which was used in the days of Abraham, when he bought his burying ground. The idea therefore of a balance and weights was very familiar, and was well calculated to shew Belshazzar's state as a Monarch and a Man. The balance has indeed been a favourite figure with the Poets; and hence Homer (B. 22. v. 209—13) describes the approaching fate of Hector.

- " Jove lifts the golden *balances*, that show
- " The fates of mortal men, and things below :
- " Here each contending Hero's lot he tries,
- " And weighs, with equal hand, their destinies.
- " Low sinks the scale, surcharged with Hector's fate;
- " Heavy with death it sinks, and hell receives the weight.

POPE.

Virgil also adopting the same figure, thus exhibits the fate of Turnus (B. 12. v. 725—7); " Jupiter himself sustains two scales, with leveled beam, and in them puts the different fates of each, to ascertain whose toil should end in death." And Milton, with still greater force and sublimity, thus describes the prevention of the battle between Gabriel and Satan (Par. lost. B. 4.)

- " Th' Eternal to prevent such horrid fray
- " Hung forth in heav'n his golden scales, yet seen
- " Between Astrea, and the Scorpion sign,
- " Wherein all things created first he weigh'd,

“ — In these he put two weights;
 “ The sequel each of parting and of fight;
 “ The latter quick up flew and kickt the beam.

When Daniel proceeds to explain the term *upharsin*, he uses another, *peres*; which is by some considered its participle passive: but both convey the same idea, viz. *division*; and are therefore in this respect equally correct. If we take, *peres*, then the meaning is—the kingdom is divided, separated, or rent from thee: or if we take *upharsin*, then the meaning will be—they are, dividing, separating, or rending the kingdom from thee. And this word, *upharsin*, brings, as it were, before the eyes of the king, the Medes and Persians overturning his throne, and wresting the empire from his hand; It shews him that neither his strong fortifications, nor his Gods of silver and gold, could rescue him from that ruin, which the God of the Jews, whom he had despised, would that night bring on him by the besiegers of the city. The prophet shews the impious king, that God had brought his empire to an end;—that he had been weighed in the scales of divine justice, and was found unworthy of empire or life;—and that the Medes and Persians would immediately rend his kingdom from him, and seize upon his throne.

But awful as was this denunciation, yet Belshazzar fulfilled the promise which he had made, if any one should read the writing and shew the interpretation: For (v. 29). “ then commanded Belshazzar; and they clothed Daniel with scarlet, and put a chain of gold about his neck, and made a proclamation concerning him, that he should be the third ruler in the kingdom.” From the earliest ages, scarlet and purple had been considered royal colours, and peculiar to the vests of

monarchs and their chief officers; and to be adorned with a golden chain, a mark of dignity and high office. For when Joseph interpreted the dreams of Pharaoh, the same distinctions were conferred on him as on Daniel: For (*Gen. xli. 42*) "Pharaoh took off his ring from his hand, and put it upon Joseph's hand, and arrayed him in vestures of fine linen, and put a gold chain about his neck." A Babylonish garment was so pleasing to Achan, that, in opposition to the severest injunctions from Joshua, he purloined, and hid it. And when Mordecai (*Esther viii. 15*) received the reward of his fidelity, he "went out from the presence of the king in royal apparel of blue and white, and with a great crown of gold, and with a garment of fine linen and purple." Nor is it surprising that Daniel was immediately clad with these royal robes; since the Eastern monarchs kept prodigiously large ward-robes full of vestments of the richest and most costly kinds, for presents to those whom they wished to distinguish by royal favour. "The kings of Persia," (says Mr. Harmer from Sir J. Chardin) "have great ward-robes, where there are always many hundreds of habits ready; designed for presents, and sorted. The intendant of the ward-robe, which they call *Kalaat Kane*, that is the house of *Kalaats*, (that being the name given those vestments that are made presents of.) sends one of them to the person the great master orders. More than forty tailors are always employed in this house."

And now, when the prophet and servant of the true God had obtained that distinction and honour, which Belshazzar had promised, and which his wisdom

* Harmer. obs. v. 2. p. 395. Edit. 4th.

deserved, comes the fulfilment of the hand-writing's awful denunciation: For (v. 30,31.) " in that night was Belshazzar the king of the Chaldeans slain. And Darius the Median took the kingdom, being about threescore and two years old. " But it was not only by the hand writing on the wall, that the capture of Babylon had been predicted: the prophets of the true God, many years before that night, had described its capture, and the manner by which it should be effected. And in taking a brief view of some of the prophecies on this subject, and of their accomplishment, as detailed by Herodotus and Xenophon, we shall see how prophane historians, without designing to illustrate and confirm the holy Scriptures. Many years before the events took place, Isaiah (xiii. 17--19, and xxi. 2) predicted, by name, the people who should overwhelm Babylon the queen of cities. " Behold I will stir up the Medes against them, which shall not regard silver; and as for gold, they shall not delight in it. And Babylon the glory of kingdoms, the beauty of the Chaldees' excellency shall be as when God overthrew Sodom and Gomorrah. Go up, O Elam; besiege, O Media. " And Jeremiah (li. 11) with equal distinctness names the people who should execute God's wrath upon the city. " Make bright the arrows; gather the shields; the Lord hath raised up the spirit of the kings of the Medes: for his device is against Babylon, to destroy it; because it is the vengeance of the Lord, the vengeance of his temple. " The very name and person of the commander of the besieging armies are foretold by Isaiah (xlviii. 14, 15 and xlv. 1); " The Lord hath loved him, he will do his pleasure on Babylon, and his arm shall be on the Chaldeans. I, even I, have spoken; yea I have called him: I have brought him, and he shall make his

way prosperous." "Thus saith the Lord to his anointed, to CYRUS, whose right hand I have holden, to subdue nations before him: And I will loose the loins of kings to open before him the two-leaved gates, and the gates shall not be shut." And not only are the people and their general predicted, who should capture Babylon; but the very time is specified by Jeremiah (xxv. 11. 12.), in which the capture should take place: "And these nations shall serve the king of Babylon seventy years. And it shall come to pass when seventy years are accomplished, that I will punish the king of Babylon, and that nation, saith the Lord, for their iniquity, and the land of the Chaldeans, and will make it perpetual desolations." The very circumstances of Belshazzar's drunken feast; and of the surprise by which the city should be taken; and the road, viz. the bed of the river, by which Cyrus should enter, are all, as it were, painted by the prophets. Jeremiah (li. 39, 57) says. "In their heat I will make their feasts, and I will make them *drunken* that they may rejoice and sleep a perpetual sleep, and not wake, saith the Lord. And I will make *drunk* her princes, and her wise men, her captains and her rulers and her mighty men, and they shall sleep a perpetual sleep, and not wake, saith the king, whose name, is the lord of Hosts." The same prophet adds (l. 24) ; "I have laid a *snare* for thee, and thou art also taken, O Babylon, and thou wast not *aware*; thou art found and also caught, because thou hast striven against the Lord." And again (l. 38), "a *drought* is upon her waters and they shall be *dried up*." And Isaiah (xliv. 27, 28) exhibits the entrance of Cyrus by the bed of the river, and his future kindness to the Jews, when he says; "Thus saith the Lord—that

saith to the deep: be *dry*, and I will *dry* up thy *rivers*: that saith of Cyrus, he is my shepherd, and shalt perform all my pleasure; even saying to Jerusalem, thou shalt be built, and to the temple, thy foundation shall be laid."

Now the account which both Herodotus and Xenophon give of the capture of Babylon, seems almost as if written to be a commentary upon these predictions. "Now Cyrus," says Herodotus, "was in doubt what he should do, when he perceived that, for so long a time, he accomplished nothing. But whether some one suggested this plan, or he devised it himself, he resolved to act thus. Having drawn up all his troops, and placed part of them where the river *enters* the city, and part where it *flows out* of the city, he ordered them to enter it, when the channel should be fordable. And having thus arranged and given orders to his troops, he proceeded with the unemployed part of his army to the lake: and with respect to the river and the lake, he did such like things as the queen of the Babylonians had done, but in a contrary direction; for, *turning* the course of the river, he rendered its former channel fordable. And as soon as this was done, the Persians, who had been left for that purpose, manfully entered, with the water up to the middle of their thighs, through the channel of the Euphrates now turning in another direction. And now the Persians *very unexpectedly* were upon them. And, on account of the magnitude of the city, those who inhabited its extremities were captured, before the inhabitants of the middle parts were aware of their danger: But, since it was a festal season, they continued dancing, and giving themselves to revelry

Herod. lib. 1.

during this time, till they heard what had occurred. And in this manner was Babylon first captured. ”

But Xenophon's account is still more particular. “When Cyrus,” says he : “heard that there was in Babylon such a festival, that the Babylonians spent the whole night in revelry and drinking : as soon, therefore as it was dark, he took many of his men, and opened the canals towards the river. And as soon as this was done, the water flowed into the canals during the night, and hence the channel of the river through the city became fordable by men. As soon then as information was brought, that the channel was fordable, he thus addressed the generals both of horse and foot. This river, my friends, affords us a passage into the city : let us then enter the city with confidence, and fear nothing. Let us consider that they, against whom we now march, are the very men whom we conquered, when they were assisted by their allies, when on the watch, when sober, and drawn out in battle array : But now we march against them at a time when many of them are asleep, many drunk, and all are in disorder. And do you, Gadates and Gobryas, shew us the way ; for you know it. And, as soon as we are within the city, proceed immediately to the palace. Upon this Gobryas replied ; there will be no difficulty ; for the gates of the palace are not shut, since the whole city, during the night, is given up to revelry. Then the Soldiers of Gobryas began to make a clamour, as if they were revellers, and proceeded as quickly as possible to the palace. But the party of Gobryas and Gadates find the gates shut ; however they rush upon the guards, who were drinking till it was full light, and attack them. And now a

clamour and noise having arisen, and they, who were within, having perceived that a tumult had taken place, and the king having ordered to enquire what was the matter, and some having opened the gates to go out and see;—immediately Gadates' party, as soon as they saw the gates open, rush in; and following up and cutting down the others, who fled back again, they came to the king, and find him standing with his sword drawn: then the troops of Gadates and Gobryas, overcome him and his people, and they perish."

Now compare these two accounts from Herodotus and Xenophon, with the prophecies of Isaiah and Jeremiah, and how exactly do they correspond! Cyrus commands the united forces of the Medes and Persians, which besiege Babylon, they take the place by surprise, while the people are given up to drinking and revelry; and they enter by the bed of the river, which seemed a defence to the city. Now all these historical facts exactly agree with the predictions of the prophets, which had been delivered very many years before the events took place: For Isaiah prophesied respecting the downfall of Babylon, more than one hundred and sixty years before the event; and upwards of two hundred and fifty before the times of Herodotus, and near three hundred and fifty years before Xenophon: And Jeremiah predicted the fall of the city about fifty-six years before it took place; and lived upwards of one hundred and fifty years before Herodotus, and near two hundred and fifty before Xenophon.

Here then you see the truth of prophecy confirmed by historical evidence; and the vengeance of Almighty God upon a wicked and impious monarch. He vainly thought himself secure in the protection of his

Gods, and the strength of his fortifications: But the word of prophecy standeth sure, and often receives its accomplishment by the most unexpected means. When the time arrives, in which God's purposes are to be fulfilled; then is it that divine providence overrules the hearts of men, and the very course of nature, to serve and effect its designs. And, in the exact fulfilment of these prophecies, we see that the scriptures were given by inspiration of God, and contain within themselves full proof of their divine origin. And while they give full proof of their divine origin, they also afford awful lessons of divine vengeance upon the tyrant and the oppressor, the proud and the impious. God will not long permit his majesty to be insulted, or the liberties, property, and lives of men to be disregarded; but, in the punishment of the injurious and unjust, gives a lesson to succeeding generations, that they, who are in power, should learn to fear him, and to work righteousness, to do justice and to love mercy.

Dissertation

8.

CHAPTER VI.

IMMEDIATELY after the conquest of Babylon, Darius the Mede, (who, according to Xenophon, was Cyaxares the uncle of Cyrus the Persian,) in concert with his nephew took measures for the regulation of his vast empire. And, as a first and most important matter, the kingdom was divided into one hundred and twenty provinces, to each of which a prince or governor was assigned: And, that the whole business of the state might be managed with the utmost order and regularity, over these governors there were appointed three presidents, (v. 2.) “ of whom Daniel was first, ” or chief.

The honour, which Daniel acquired was fully merited by him not only on account of his great wisdom, but likewise of his age and consummate experience, for he had now served different kings of Babylon full sixty five years, in the quality of prime minister. * And Josephus ^b says, “Darius had so great

* *Uss. Hist.* v. 5. p. 43 *Erid.* v. 1 127.

^b *Joseph. lib.* 10.

a tenderness and reverence for Daniel, that he consulted him upon all occasions as an oracle, and would hardly resolve upon any matter of moment without his advice." Nor could Darius be ignorant of Daniel's interpretation of the hand writing which denounced the fall of Babylon, and the destruction of Belshazzar. An event so singular, and occurring on the night in which the Medes and the Persians took the city, would be made known to the conqueror, who would feel a reverence for a man so eminent in wisdom, and so well qualified to govern, and advise in matters of state.

But in courts, the malignant passions, and especially envy, are found to predominate. Men do not willingly admit a superior, if they imagine he ought to be only their equal; and their ambition impels them to attempt the degradation of those whom they cannot surpass in talents and worth. When, therefore, the presidents and the princes (v. 4) found that Daniel had gained such distinguished honour in the empire, and that he managed its affairs so well, that " neither was there any error or fault found in him," they resolved to concert a plot by which they might flatter the king, and destroy the object of their hatred. They knew the influence of flattery, and of a pretended regard for the king's power and authority; and therefore (v. 7) they request from the king that he would establish a decree, " that whosoever shall ask a petition of any God or man for thirty days, save of thee, O king, he shall be cast into the den of Lions." In making this request they acted indeed according to the manners and customs of the Medes, who " paid their kings the greatest respect imaginable, putting them upon a level even with their Gods. They thought it an high offence either to spit or laugh in

their presence. They honoured their sovereigns with the haughty title of Great king, or king of kings; which still was afterwards adopted by the Persian Monarchs, and their successors the Parthians, whose king, even in the time of the Emperor Constantius, retained that title, writing himself, in a letter to that prince, king of kings, allied to the stars, brother to the Sun and Moon, &c. When they appeared in public, which seldom happened, they were always attended by music, and numerous guards, consisting of the prime nobility; their wives, children, and concubines, being part of their retinue, even when they headed their armies in the field." ^c The envious presidents and princes, wishing to effect Daniel's destruction, employed a subtle design of flattery upon Darius: a design of which he could not well perceive the end; since their proposal accorded with the manners and customs of his own nation. As the Medes behaved towards their sovereign as a God, so the Babylonians pretended they were equally ready to raise him to the same or even a greater height in their estimation. And as they knew that Daniel acknowledged but one God, and would make his prayers and supplications unto him, as a duty from which he could not be deterred by any dangers; so they expected by their proposal to overthrow their rival, and gratify their resentment.

That they pretended a peculiar regard for the king's honour and dignity is shewn by the Syriac version of the seventh verse, which renders it; "*All the presidents &c. have consulted together to enter into a league for the honour of the king, and to bind themselves with a bond.*" And that their purpose of

^c Un. Hist. v. 5. p. 16.

destroying Daniel might not be frustrated, they persuade the king to make a *written* decree, signed by himself, which, when so executed, he himself could not change though ever so desirous of doing it. Most of the Eastern Monarchs governed according to their own will or caprice, and could change or alter their own orders as they pleased: But the laws of the Medes were not subject to such fluctuation or change and therefore, in *general*, the liberty of the subject would be better protected than under an absolute despotism; though on *particular* occasions severe and even cruel acts might be passed. But that decree which could not be reversed was not a verbal but a written one, as appears from Esther (viii. 8. ;) “ For the writing which is written in the king’s name, and sealed with the king’s ring, may no man reverse.” And hence we find that the decree, which Haman obtained from Ahasuerus for the destruction of the Jews, having been written and sealed, could not be altered, but was rendered in a great measure nugatory by a fresh decree, which allowed the Jews to defend themselves against those who might assail them. But still the Median king was very despotic; for Xenophon^d makes Mandane the mother of Cyrus the Persian, thus speak of the difference between the Median and Persian king. “ He (the king of the Medes) hath made himself despot over all things among the Medes; but among the Persians there is equality of right. The rule of conduct to him (the king of Persia) is not his own will, but the law.” But the force of a royal edict among the Persians as well as the Medes, was strongly exemplified in the case of Charidemus whom Darius had ordered for execution: For Diodorus.

^d Cyrop. l. 1.

informs us * "that when he adjudged him to death, he immediately blamed himself very much; but since the thing had been done by royal authority, it could not be reversed."

But wherever there is true piety towards the only one living and true God, it makes a person bold in the discharge of his duty to his creator. Idolatry can easily accommodate itself either to worship new Gods, or to neglect old ones; But the worshipper of the true God will neither neglect the service which he owes to him, nor give it to another. Hence as Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego would not commit idolatry, by worshipping Nebuchadnezzar's golden image; so neither would Daniel neglect the worship which he owed to the Almighty, though the performance of it was contrary to the king's decree, and endangered his own life. In this case he knew he ought to obey God rather than man; and, therefore, he never hesitated how he should act: "He (v. 10) kneeled upon his knees three times a day, and prayed, and gave thanks before his God, as he did aforetime." The truly devout man is not content with the ordinary worship of Morning and Evening; he delights to draw near to God in prayer and praise; and therefore David says (*Psalm* cxix. 164) "Seven times a day do I praise thee, because of thy righteous judgments;" and, "at midnight I will rise to give thanks unto thee." And Daniel offered up his prayers and thanksgivings three times a day; most probably at morning, noon, and evening.

The place in which Daniel worshipped was in the upper part of his house; for so the word signifies which is rendered chamber. A room reserved more

* Diod. l. 14.

especially for religious uses; in which the worshipper, being free from noise and interruption, and having a large and open prospect, might feel his soul elevated and his devotion more pure and exalted. Shaw in his travels thinks these upper rooms were buildings detached from the house, often raised a story higher than it, to which there was a private staircase. In these upper rooms the light was admitted through windows which in the lower part was received through the doors; and these windows of Daniel were opened towards the holy city, whither the Jews had long wished and prayed for their return.^f The city and temple of Jerusalem were objects of tender regard to the Jews; for thither their tribes had gone up to worship and to offer their sacrifices, and thither they hoped again to return: Daniel, therefore, prayed with his windows open towards the holy city; most probably retaining in mind Solomon's prayer (1 Kings viii. 46—53) at the dedication of the temple. "If they shall bethink themselves in the land whither they were carried captives, and repent. And pray unto thee toward their land which thou gavest unto their fathers, the city which thou hast chosen, and the house which I have built for thy name; then hear thou their prayer and their supplication in heaven thy dwelling place, and maintain their cause." Keeping this prayer most probably in mind, Daniel offered up his supplications as aforetime, neither seeking nor avoiding detection. Influenced by principles of real piety he did not sacrifice his conscience by omitting his duty; nor did he seek to expose his life by any acts of devotion distinct from those to which he had been accustomed.

^f Shaw's Travels, p. 280. Wintle in loco.

But Daniel's enemies were well acquainted with the firmness of his religious principles, and the constancy of his devotion; they knew that the law of his God was dearer to him than life, and therefore (v. 11) they "assembled and found Daniel praying, and making supplication before his God." They watched him diligently, to ascertain whether he would break the king's decree; and having found that his prayers were made to God as usual, they rushed into his chamber and discovered him in the very act of his devotion. And now Darius perceived the mischief of his unwise and wicked decree; and that it would injure himself as well as Daniel, by depriving him of the services of so able and upright a minister. Kings ought strictly to guard against the flatteries of courtiers, and those designs which they carry on against each other, since their object is more frequently the gratification of their own passions than the promotion of the public good. And when they have entangled their prince in an unwise measure, they will press him to execute it however disastrous, if they can but supplant a rival. And hence, though the king was sorely distressed, and set his heart to deliver Daniel; though his distress was so great that, as the word imports, he was in an *agony*, and in the severest *anguish* of soul; yet his grief affected them not. Their rival must be destroyed, and therefore (v. 15) they "assembled unto the king;" "they rush into his presence with eagerness, they are fierce," says Calvin, "as if they would strike him with their hands;" and insist that the law, or custom of the Medes and Persians be adhered to, and that Daniel be thrown into the den of lions.

But however anxious the king might be to revoke his decree, he could not accomplish his wish; and therefore he commanded its execution, and "they

brought Daniel, and cast him into the den of lions." But Darius had no doubt heard of the wonderful deliverance of Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego, from the fiery furnace; and that their God was Daniel's God: And hence he might hope, nay even believe that Daniel would be delivered from the power of the wild beasts. This seems indeed plain from verse 16, for "the king spake and said unto Daniel, Thy God whom thou servest continually, he *will* deliver thee;" though Wintle renders the passage, "thy God whom thou servest continually, *may* he deliver thee." But the common reading is to be preferred; for certainly the king would feel assured, that the same God who so wonderfully delivered his three servants from the flames, could deliver Daniel from the lions; and a kind of sacred impulse would impel him to say, "he will deliver thee." And though the king says (v. 20), "is thy God able to deliver thee;" yet it is easy to suppose that he would use terms expressive of doubt, when he came to ascertain whether Daniel was alive, which he would not use when in the agony of his feelings he consented to the execution of the decree; for in such cases men often speak as if that was certain which they wish and hope.

The barbarous custom of throwing criminals, or condemned persons, to wild beasts, or lions, was not unfrequent; and at Babylon seems to have been a common mode of punishment. During the persecutions which raged against the first Christians, numbers of them were torn by wild beasts; and the common cry among the heathen was, when they laboured under any public calamity, "The christians to the lions." Tacitus informs us that in the reign of Vitel-

tius, Mariccus one of the Boii was thrown to wild beasts; but that not being torn by them he was slain in the presence of the emperor: And Dion Cassius tells us that Sérapion an Egyptian was ordered to be thrown to a lion, but was spared by it; and St. Jerom mentions a like instance of one Malchus; and Victor, others concerning the African Christians in the persecution of Huneric.^s But that Daniel's escape was by divine interposition, was proved by the destruction of his enemies. "They," says Josephus,^h "would not allow this deliverance however to be the work of a peculiar providence, and would needs face the king down that the lions' bellies were full, and so they let him alone for want of appetite. The king was so incensed at the spite and malignity of these people, that he ordered as much meat to be given to the lions as they could get down, and when they would eat no longer; to turn Daniel's accusers in among them. If they do not worry them, says the king, it is because their bellies are full, but if they do, it must be allowed to be a divine providence that preserved Daniel. In short the lions tore them to pieces every one of them, as if it had been in a starving hunger, or rather as if the brutes themselves were become the ministers of God's justice upon the workers of iniquity." The precautions which were taken to secure the den, made the miracle of Daniel's deliverance the more conspicuous, for (v. 17) "a stone was brought, and laid upon the mouth of the den, and the king sealed it with his own signet, and with the signet of his lords; that the purpose might not be changed concerning Daniel." The enemies of the prophet were determined to secure, by all possible means, his destruction;

^s Tacit. Hist. l. 2. 61. Dio. l. 78. Poleon. v. 22.

^h L'Estrange's, Josephus. B. 10. C. 12.

and by the king's seal to prevent any attempt at his rescue. As the Jews, in the case of our Saviour, made the sepulchre sure by sealing the stone and setting a watch, and hoped to detect his disciples, if they should attempt to steal him away; so every precaution was taken to secure Daniel in the Den, and to make his death the more certain. But in vain all their cares and endeavours; that same God who preserved his servants Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego, from the power of the flames when the furnace was heated seven times hotter than usual, was determined to save Daniel from the Jaws of the lions, and to give another proof, in the sight of the heathen, of his power and greatness. The sealing of the den made all access to Daniel almost impossible without detection; and confirmed the punishment inflicted upon him: when therefore he came whole and safe from among the lions, it was evidently by the interposition of divine providence, since the lions had the mastery over his accusers, "and brake all their bones in pieces, or ever they came at the bottom of the den."

But though Daniel's enemies would rejoice at his punishment, yet Darius, who had unwillingly inflicted it, mourned and grieved: He "went (v. 18) to his palace, and passed the night fasting: Neither were instruments of music brought before him: And his sleep went from him." He felt the loss he had sustained in being deprived of a wise and able minister, and the injustice which, though unwilling, he had committed against him. The pomp of royalty now lost its power of giving pleasure; nor could either the gratification of his taste by delicacies, or of his ear by harmony, soothe the anguish of his mind. A sleepless

night succeeded the anxiety of the day; and distress of soul prevented the refreshment of the body. Nor is there any doubt, but on some occasions, God has caused a sleepless night, in order to effect some design of providence: For (*Esther*, vi. 1) when the Jews were almost at the verge of extirpation by the craft and wickedness of Haman, "on that night could not the king sleep:" But his want of rest was overruled to honour Mordecai, and hence to deliver the Jews from the hands of those who hated them. And the doleful night spent by Darius urged him early to the den to ascertain whether Daniel was alive; and, if he was, to restore him to all his honour and dignity. The intense agony which he felt during the night, impelled him very early in the morning to ascertain the state of his faithful, but persecuted minister; and when he came to the den of lions, he cried with a lamentable, with a doleful and loud voice, such as pains the ear, "O Daniel, servant of the living God, is thy God, whom thou servest continually, able to deliver thee from the lions?" (v. 20).

Here then the Gentile nations had an opportunity of witnessing the power and might of the God of Israel, the one living and true God. As, on a former occasion, he subdued the force of fire, so now, among the same people under a prince of another nation, he tames the ferocity of the most savage animals, he shuts the lions' mouths. As Babylon was the Queen of cities and the mistress of nations, whether governed by Nebuchadnezzar, Darius the Mede, or Cyrus the Persian; so, in that age of the world, she was the most proper place for the true God to exhibit his power and majesty, in vindication of his own dignity and the religion of his suffering people. Nor was this instance of divine interposition in the rescue of Dan-

iel, without its effect; it lead Darius to make a decree (v. 26—7) “ That in every dominion of my kingdom men tremble and fear before the God of Daniel: for he is the living God and stedfast forever, and his kingdom that which shall not be destroyed, and his dominion shall be even unto the end. He delivereth and rescueth, and he worketh signs and wonders in heaven and in earth, who hath delivered Daniel from the power of the lions.” But there is no reason to suppose, as some do, that he became a worshipper of the true God only. Idolatry had too deep root in the minds of men to be easily eradicated; and it is most probable, that it was with Darius, as with Nebuchadnezzar, that while he venerated the God of the Jews, he still worshipped and served his own false deities. He was ready to acknowledge the God of the Jews as a God of power and might; but we have not sufficient ground to suppose that he made him the only object of his religious fear and worship. But still such a decree, issued by a monarch so powerful and despotic, would tend to secure the Jews in the exercise of their religion, and to obtain for them esteem and respect. With so mighty a prince for their patron, they would at least be enabled to serve their God with less molestation. And, as “ Daniel prospered in the reign of Darius, and in the reign of Cyrus the Persian ” (v. 28), his influence at court would be a security and defence to his people and nation: in him they would find protection from their enemies, and the means of gaining favour from their sovereign. That providence which had given them over into the hand of the oppressor because of their wickedness, did still raise up for them a deliverer out of themselves; who, like

Joseph in the days of their fathers, should be their friend and guardian in the land of their captivity.

We are now come to what may be called the close of the historical part of the book of Daniel: and as it concludes with mentioning Darius, and Cyrus the Persian, we shall quote what the very learned Prideaux has said respecting Darius, as to who and what he was. Great doubts have been raised by the learned on this subject: but it satisfactorily appears, both from the succinct and learned note of the Authors of the Universal history, and from Prideaux, that Darius was none other than the Cyaxares of Xenophon,—the uncle of Cyrus.

“After the death of Belshazzar, Darius the Mede is said in scripture to have taken the kingdom. For Cyrus, as long as his uncle lived, allowed him a joint title with him in the empire, although it was all gained by his own valour; and out of deference to him yielded him the first place of honour in it. But the whole power of the army, and the chief conduct of all affairs being still in his hand, he only was looked on as the supreme governor of the empire, which he had erected; and therefore there is no notice at all taken of Darius in the canon of Ptolemy, but immediately after the death of Belshazzar, who is there called Nabonadius, Cyrus is placed as the next successor, as in truth and reality he was, the other having no more than the name and the shadow of the sovereignty, excepting only in Media, which was his own proper dominion.

“There are some that will have Darius the Median to have been Nabonadius, the last Babylonish king in the canon of Ptolemy. And there scheme is, that after the death of Evilmerodach, Neriglissar succeeded

only as guardian to Laborosoarchod his son, who was next heir in right of his mother, she having been daughter to Nebuchadnezzar, and that Laborosoarchod was the Belshazzar of the scriptures, who was slain in the night of the impious festival, not by Cyrus, say they, but by a conspiracy of his own people. That the scriptures attribute to him, the whole four years of Belshazzar, which the canon of Ptolemy doth to Neriglissar, or Nericassolassar, as he is there called; because Neriglissar reigned only as guardian for him. And that hence it is, that we hear of the first and the third year of Belshazzar in Daniel, though Laborosoarchod reigned alone after his father's death only nine months. That after his death the Babylonians made choice of Nabonadius who was no way of kin to the family of Nebuchadnezzar, but a Median by descent, and that for this reason only is he called Darius the Median in scripture. As to what they say of Nabonadius not being of kin to the family of Nebuchadnezzar, it must be confessed that the fragments of Megasthenes may give them some authority for it. But as for all the rest it hath no other foundation but the imagination of them that say it. And the whole is contrary to scripture. For, first, the hand writing on the wall told Belshazzar, that his kingdom should be divided, or rent from him, and be given to the Medes and Persians; and immediately after, the sacred text tells us, that Belshazzar was slain that night, and Darius the Median took the kingdom, who could be none other than Cyaxares king of Media, who in conjunction, with Cyrus the Persian conquered Babylon. Secondly, Therefore, Belshazzar must have been the last Babylonish king, and consequently the Nabonadius of Ptolemy. Thirdly, This last king was not a stranger to the family of Nebuchadnezzar, for the sacred text makes him his descendant. Fourthly,

Darius is said to have governed the kingdom by the laws of the Medes and Persians, which cannot be supposed till after the Medes and Persians had conquered that kingdom. Had this Darius been Nabonadius the Babylonish king, he would certainly have governed by the Babylonish laws, and not by the laws of his enemies, the Medes and Persians, who were in hostility against him all his reign, and sought his ruin. Fifthly, Darius is said to have divided his empire into one hundred and twenty provinces, which could not have been true of the Babylonish empire, *that* never having been large enough for it. But it must be understood of the Persian empire only, which was vastly larger. And afterwards on the conquest of Egypt by Cambyses, and of Thrace and India, by Darius Hystaspes, it had seven other provinces added to its former number. And therefore in the time of Esther, it consisted of an hundred twenty and seven provinces. And this having been the division of the Persian empire at that time, it sufficiently proves the former to have been of the same empire also. For, if the Persian empire from India to Ethiopia contained but an hundred and twenty seven provinces, the empire of Babylon alone, which was not the seventh part of the other could not contain an hundred and twenty. The testimony which Scaliger brings to prove Nabonadius to have been a Mede, by descent, and by election made king of Babylon is very absurd. In the prophecy of Nebuchadnezzar delivered to the Babylonians, a little before his death concerning their future subjection to the Persians, which is preserved in the fragments of Megasthenes, there are these words: A Persian mule shall come, who, by the help of your own Gods fighting for him, shall bring slavery upon you, whose assistant, or fellow-causer herein, shall be the Mede. By which Mede is plainly

meant, Cyaxares king of Media, who was confederate with Cyrus in the war, wherein Babylon was conquered. But Scaliger saith it was Nabonadius, and hence proves that he was a Mede, and quotes this place in Megasthenes for it. If you ask him why he saith this, his answer is, that the person who is in that prophecy said, to be the assistant of Cyrus, and fellow-causer with him, in bringing servitude upon Babylon, must be Nabonadius, because he was an assistant, and fellow-causer with him herein, in being beaten and conquered by him. This argument needs no answer, it is sufficiently refuted by being related. And, therefore, Isaac Vossius well observes that the arguments which Scaliger brings for this, are indigna Scaliger; i. e. unworthy of Scaliger.”¹

And as Daniel was in the highest reputation and esteem with Darius, or Cyaxares, so he continued with Cyrus his nephew; for he prospered with him, as well as with his uncle. And that influence, which he had so justly acquired by his integrity and wisdom, was no doubt used for the welfare of the Jews, whose interest so deeply engaged his thoughts and cares. When Cyrus therefore came into full and sole possession of the Medo-Persian empire, he incited him to restore the captive Jews to their native land: For, “since he had been so earnest with God in prayer for the restoration of his people, as we find in the ninth chapter of Daniel, it is not to be thought that he was backward in his intercessions for it with the king, especially when he was in so great favour, and of so great authority with him. And to induce him the readier to grant his request, he shewed him the prophecies of the prophet Isaiah, which spake

¹ Prid. v. 1. p. 125—7. Un. Hist. v. 5. p. 49.

of him by name an hundred and fifty years before he was born, as one whom God had designed to be a great conqueror and king over many nations, and the restorer of his people, in causing the temple to be built, and the land of Judah and the city of Jerusalem to be again dwelt in by its former inhabitants. That Cyrus had seen and read these prophecies, Josephus tells us; and it is plain from Scripture that he did so. For they are recited in his decree in Ezra, for the rebuilding of the temple: And who was there that should shew them unto him, but Daniel, who, in the station that he was in, had constant access unto him; and of all men living had it most at heart to see these prophecies fulfilled, in the restoration of Sion? Besides, Cyrus in his late expedition into Syria and Palestine, having seen so large and good a country as that of Judea lie wholly desolate, might justly be moved with a desire of having it again inhabited. For the strength and riches of every empire being chiefly in the number of its subjects, no wise prince would ever desire that any part of his dominions should lie unpeopled. And who could be more proper again to plant the desolated country of Judea than its former inhabitants? They were first carried out of Judea by Nebuchadnezzar, to people and strengthen Babylon, and perchance under this government of the Persians, to which the Babylonians were never well affected, the weakning and dispeopling of Babylon might be as strong a reason for their being sent back again into their own country. But whatsoever second causes worked to it, God's overruling power, which turneth the hearts of princes, which way he pleaseth, brought it to pass, that in the first year of Cyrus' monarchy over the East, he issued out his royal decree for the rebuilding of the temple at Jerusalem, and the return

of the Jews again into their own country." ¹ For, ¹
 " now in the first year of Cyrus king of Persia, (that
 the word of the Lord spoken by the mouth of Jeremiah
 might be accomplished) the Lord stirred up the spirit
 of Cyrus king of Persia, that he made a proclamation
 throughout all his kingdom, and put it also in writing,
 saying, Thus saith Cyrus king of Persia, all the king-
 doms of the earth hath the Lord God of heaven given
 me, and he hath charged me to build him an house in
 Jerusalem, which is in Judah. Who is there among
 you of all his people ? the Lord his God be with him,
 and let him go up. "

¹ Prid. v. 1. p. 132.

¹ 2. Chron. xxxvi. 22, 23.

Dissertation

9.

CHAPTER VII.

AS in many things, in the natural world, there is an evident progress towards maturity ; so is it in Revelation. For whether we consider the prophecies respecting the Messiah, or those referring to the four great empires of the world, we shall find them gradually expanding, and becoming more clear and distinct. God has treated and conducted the world much in the same way, in which individuals are treated by the general course of divine providence ; for, as men attain to eminence in the knowledge of their professions by degrees, so, by a slow progress, mankind have received the knowledge of the divine will.

In the second Chapter we have an account of Nebuchadnezzar's vision of the great image ; by which God revealed to him an outline of the four great empires, and gave him a general view of their state and character. But that outline admitted of much filling up ; and what was represented in the general, required much detail for its illustration. In this Chapter,

then, we have Daniel's vision of the same subject, in which it is represented in a very different manner, and with many additional circumstances. But since, in the dissertation on Chapter second, we have endeavoured to illustrate the subject in general, we shall not now go over the same ground; but attend *chiefly* to those particulars which are not contained in Nebuchadnezzar's vision, and which give us a more detailed view of this leading subject of prophecy.

In the first year of the reign of Belshazzar, which was Five hundred and fifty five years B. C. and Forty eight years after Nebuchadnezzar's vision of the image, the four great empires were revealed to Daniel in a dream, under the form of four beasts of prey. For (v. 2, 3,) " The four winds of the heaven strove upon the great sea : And four great beasts came up from the sea, diverse one from another. " The description here given is worthy of the subject : the winds and the ocean are in a state of the most violent agitation ; and four huge beasts of prey are thrown into view. The winds strive upon the great, i. e. upon the Mediterranean sea ; and, by the commotions, which they produce, powerfully represent the tumults and the wars, by which the Babylonian, Persian, Grecian, and Roman empires were raised to their distinction and eminence. The Mediterranean sea is fitly the place for the rise of the four beasts ; because the four empires, which they represent, were all, more or less, formed of the nations which were situated upon its shores. For what, indeed, is the ancient history of the world, but an account of those nations which skirted the Mediterranean, or pushed their arms along its coasts ? Nor is the violent agitation of the sea, tossed by the winds, more descriptive of the origin of empires than beasts of prey are of their nature and

conduct towards each other: For, as Beasts of prey assault and tear each other, and worry and devour the harmless and unoffending cattle; so, do nations attack and overwhelm their neighbours with mighty armies, and lay waste and destroy those who had committed no wrong. The miseries of others become the sources of their gratification and joy, and the destruction of thousands slain in battle the subject of their triumph.

I. The first beast which arose out of the agitated ocean was like a lion: For (v. 4) " the first was like a lion, and had eagles' wings: I beheld till the wings thereof were plucked, and it was lifted up from the earth, and made stand upon the feet as a man, and a man's heart was given to it. " Now, as the Babylonian was the first in the series of the four empires, it is here represented by a lion, which ranks chief among the beasts of prey. As in the second Chapter the head of gold signified the Babylonian empire, and placed it first in dignity; so here, the lion, the king of the forest, designates the same things. The Babylonians had indeed long before been described by Jeremiah under the same figure: for when, (iv. 7) he foretels the destruction which they would bring upon the Jews, he says; " The lion is come up from his thicket, and the destroyer of the Gentiles is on his way; he is gone forth from his place, to make thy land desolate; and thy cities shall be laid waste without an inhabitant. " As a lion they destroyed the nations, and devoured the empires of the earth; they sprang upon the prey, and tore in pieces the people.

But, in addition to the natural strength and swiftness of the lion, it is here represented as having " eagles' wings, " which denote the velocity with which the

Babylonian conquests were effected: for this kingdom did not only subjugate nations with the rapidity of the lion, but also with the superadded velocity of the eagle; so that the monarch of the air, as well as the king of the forest, is employed to represent the rapid progress of the Babylonian empire. Now this representation exactly accords with history, for, if we date the commencement of its conquests from the year 612, B. C. when the united forces of the Babylonians and Medes, headed by Nebuchadnezzar's father, conquered Nineveh, and reckon to 569, B. C. when it ceased to extend its dominion, we shall find, that in the short space of forty three years, Babylon had become the queen of nations, the mistress of the world.^a In the short space of forty three years, the lion of Babylon had ranged the forest of the world and subdued the nations to its sway. And this rapidity of conquest described by eagle's wings, and proved by history, is represented by other prophets under the same similitude. For Jeremiah (xlviii. 40) thus describes the progress of the Babylonian arms; "Behold! he shall fly as an eagle; and shall spread his wings over Moab;" And Ezekiel (xvii. 3) in like manner; "And say, thus saith the Lord God, a great Eagle with great wings, long winged, full of feathers, which had divers colours, came unto Lebanon, and took the highest branch of the cedar."

But, rapid as were the Babylonian conquests, yet they were soon to cease; and their further progress to be stopped: "For I beheld," says the prophet, "till the wings thereof were plucked, and it was lifted up from the earth, and made stand upon the feet as a man,

^a *Prtd.* See from year 612 to 569.

and a man's heart was given to it." At the end of forty three years Babylon was raised to her highest pitch of glory; and Nebuchadnezzar, in the plenitude of his power, when he beheld his magnificent city and thought upon the greatness of his empire, exclaimed, "Is not this great Babylon that I have built for the house of the kingdom." But while he was uttering the words, he was seized with madness, and became incapable of managing the government: And though, when his reason returned, he was restored to the throne, yet from that time the empire became stationary, and soon exhibited symptoms of decay and ruin. As a lion, when lifted up from the earth, and made to stand upon its hinder feet as a man, is put into a situation and attitude, in which it cannot easily spring upon the prey and devour: So, from the time of Nebuchadnezzar's madness, the Babylonian empire ceased to increase its limits, and lost its conquering power. The succeeding monarchs were mostly destitute of talent and enterprize, or sunk in luxury and vice; they ceased to lay waste distant nations; they lost the devouring power of the lion, and became harmless to other kingdoms, as a quiet man to his neighbours.

II. But nations are seldom stationary. If they are not making a progress, either in dominion or internal improvement, they generally retrograde, or are supplanted by others more daring and active. As soon then as the lion, the Babylonian empire, had ceased to devour; the bear, the Persian empire, began to raise itself, and to exert its destructive force. For (v. 5) "behold another beast, a second, like to a bear, and it raised up itself on one side, and it had three ribs in the mouth of it, between the teeth of it: And they said thus unto it, arise, devour much flesh."

The Persian empire is well represented by a bear, because of the voracity and cruelty of that animal. Aristotle calls the bear, an all-devouring animal; and its cruelty is great. As the bear raised up itself on one side, and, as it were by degrees, got into an attitude for seizing its prey; so the Persian empire rose by progressive steps, till it conquered the Babylonian, and absorbed within itself the power and name of the Medes its allies. At first the Persians held an inferior rank among nations, and were below the Medes: But the wisdom, courage, and perseverance of Cyrus elevated his Country above its neighbours; and not only subjugated its enemies, but obtained for itself the glory of its friends. This bear had also three ribs in the mouth of it; which Sir. I. Newton interprets, "to signify the kingdoms of Sardes, Babylon, and Egypt, which were conquered by it, but did not belong to its proper body."^a But if we adopt Wintle's translation of the passage, the three ribs will more properly represent its prodigious capacity for devouring. The passage in Wintle is, "And three *tusks*, were in its mouth, among its teeth." Now, *tusks*, well correspond with what immediately follows—"Arise, devour much flesh;"—and shews us how voracious and powerful the Persian empire would be, to destroy and lay waste the earth.

The destroying power of the Persian empire may be viewed under two periods, during its progress to power in the subversion of the Babylonian, and during its continuance afterwards, till overthrown by the Grecian empire. For about twenty one years war was carried on by the Medes and Persians against the

^a See Sir I. Newton's obs. on Daniel, p. 29.

Babylonians, with a vast destruction of the human species, and whilst the bear was raising himself up on one side, he devoured much flesh: For Neriglissar, king of Babylon, was slain together with a vast number of his army at the beginning of the great contest with the Medes and Persians; and Cræsus king of Lydia was obliged to fly from the tusk of the Bear; though he and his kingdom afterwards felt still more its devouring power. After the death of Neriglissar, his son Laborosoarchod felt the conquering arm of Cyrus; for he was routed with great slaughter, and driven within the walls of Babylon. His successor Belshazzar was still less fortunate; for Cyrus not only routed the vast army of Babylonians, Egyptians, Greeks, and Thracians, which he had raised and placed under the command of Cræsus; but afterwards defeated himself in battle, shut him up in his city, and put an end to the empire, by taking Babylon by surprise, and slaying the king and many of the Nobility.*

But after Babylon was conquered, the tusks of the Persian bear were destined still more to devour much flesh: And in order to illustrate this, we shall select a few instances, out of a great many, of the oppression and cruelty of the Persian monarchs, and of the dreadful destruction they brought upon many nations, and upon their own subjects. After Cyrus, his son Cambyses succeeded to the throne of Persia; and soon gave fearful proof of his disposition and power to destroy. He attacked Egypt with a large army and the utmost rage; and succeeded in defeating, with prodigious slaughter, the troops of Psammenitus. After their defeat he soon became master of Memphis; and there he put to death a large number of the prin-

* See Prid. from the year 539 to 539.

cipal Egyptians, among whom was the king's son. The king himself was soon after obliged to end his life by drinking bull's blood. But the rage of Camby-ses extended to the dead, as well as the living; for he caused the body of Amasis, the former king of Egypt, to be dug up out of its grave, and to be burnt, after treating it with the greatest indignity.

After the conquest of Egypt, he attempted an expedition, against the Ammonians and the Ethiopians. In his attack upon the former, fifty thousand men were lost; and in his march against the latter, his troops were reduced to such extremities, *as actually to eat one another by lots*, and thereby *literally* to fulfil the prediction of the Bear devouring much flesh. On his return to Memphis, from his disastrous expedition, he caused the magistrates to be put to death and a great number of the people, because they expressed a superstitious joy at the appearance of their God Apis. And such was his fury, that he caused several of his principal followers to be buried alive; and daily put some of them to death.^p

The few months reign of Smerdis afforded little of moment. But during the reign of his successor Darius Hystaspes, the Persian Bear continued to devour much flesh. In the revolt, which the Babylonians made against him, they put to death their old men, women, and children, in hopes of being able so much the longer to support the siege. And when the city was taken, Darius impaled three thousand of those who had been most active in the revolt. His ambition and thirst for conquest prompted him to undertake an expedition against the Scythians, in which he lost half

^p See UN. Hist. v. 5. p. 192—200.

of the vast army of seven hundred thousand men which he had collected. After this he marched into India with more success, and subjected it to his empire. In the revolt of the Ionians against the Persian domination, Miletus was destroyed; and, when the country was reduced to subjection, the inhabitants experienced the powerful tusks of the Bear, for the most handsome of their youths were made eunuchs, their virgins were sent into Persia, and their cities and temples were burnt. In the expedition of Datis and Artaphernes against the Athenians, the Persians, though finally conquered, yet inflicted great misery; for they burnt the chief cities of Naxos, destroyed Eretria in the same manner, and made its citizens captives.^a

After the death of Darius Hystaspes, his son and successor Xerxes continued to exert the devouring tusks of the Persian Bear. In the second year of his reign, he desolated Egypt, and reduced it to the utmost subjection. In his expedition against Greece, he exercised the greatest cruelty towards his own people, as well as his enemies: For, when a storm had broken the bridge of boats, which he formed over the Hellespont, he commanded the heads of those, who had the direction of the work, to be struck off; and, when he had forced the straits of Thermopylæ, and slain the brave Leonidas with the three hundred Spartans, at the loss of twenty thousand of his own men, he caused the head of the Spartan king to be cut off, and his body to be exposed on a cross. He then marched to Athens, destroyed the city by fire, and slew the Priests and old people who had been left therein. But though the Persians succeeded for a short time against the Greeks, yet were they finally conquered with

^a Prid. reign of Darius.

prodigious slaughter, and are supposed to have lost about two millions of men, by various circumstances, in their cruel expedition.

After Xerxes' expedition against Greece, the power of the Persians may be considered as stationary, if not diminished. And though they ceased not to devour each other by insurrections, poison, and assassination, yet these things do not peculiarly apply to the Bear's devouring much flesh; as this belongs to the cruelty exercised towards other nations rather than upon themselves. Let us however in closing this detail of facts, give one example of their cruelty towards each other. "Ochus was the most cruel and wicked of all the Princes of that race in Persia; for he had not been long on the throne when he filled the palace and the whole empire with blood and slaughter." "He put them" (all the blood royal) "to death without any regard to sex, age, or proximity of blood. He caused Ocha his own Sister, and mother in law, for he had married her daughter, to be buried alive; and having shut up one of his uncles with an hundred of his Sons and Grandsons in a court of the palace, he ordered his archers to dispatch them with their arrows."*

We may then safely conclude from this detail, that the Persian monarchs were in general a race of oppressive, cruel, and bloody men; and that their empire was well represented by the savage and voracious Bear.

III. But the cruel empire of the Persians was to be conquered by the rapid victories of the Grecian: For, (v. 6) "after this I beheld, and lo! another, like a leopard, which had upon the back of it four

* Un. Hist. v. 5. p. 289.

wings of a fowl; the beast had also four heads; and dominion was given to it." Now the Grecian empire is powerfully illustrated by the Leopard, because of its smallness, courage, and swiftness: for, though only a small animal, yet its courage is great, and its velocity surprizing.

But though the natural swiftness of the Leopard is great, yet it is much increased by *four wings* of a fowl; to denote the amazing rapidity of the Grecian conquests. The Babylonian victories were indeed quick; but the Grecian were still much more so; for, in the space of twelve years, Alexander overthrew the empire of the Persian Bear, and subjugated Asia. With about thirty thousand foot, and five thousand horse, and seventy talents of money, he advanced to the conquest of an empire, which could bring hundreds of thousands into the field of battle, and which possessed the riches of the east.

But the small Grecian Leopard feared not the huge Persian Bear; but at the river Granicus darted upon him, and put one hundred thousand foot and ten thousand horse to flight, leaving twenty thousand dead upon the field of battle. In the next year Alexander reduced Phrygia, Lycia, Pisidia, Pamphylia, Paphlagonia, and Cappadocia; and at Issus again defeated Darius, with an army of four hundred thousand men, inflicting on him the loss of one hundred and ten thousand. In the year following he reduced Tyre and Gaza; and received the submission of Egypt. In the following campaign, with fifty thousand men, Alexander won the celebrated battle of Arbela, defeating Darius at the head of seven hundred thousand; and received the submission of Babylon, Susa and the adjacent countries. In the next year he subdued the Medes, Parthians, Hyrcanians, Arians, and several

other nations: And in the following reduced Bactria and Sogdiana. After he had conquered what may be called the body of the Persian empire, he then projected the conquest of India; and in a short time pushed his victorious troops to the banks of the Indus. But the Grecian Leopard would not be stopped here; but in the following year overthrew, after a desperate fight, the gallant Porus, and extended his empire to the river Hyphasis. Nor would his conquests have ceased here, had not the obstinate resistance of his soldiers to advance further, obliged him to return. But, in his return to Babylon, he pursued the career of victory, by subduing the nations along the banks of the Indus, towards the ocean: From thence he marched towards the seat of his government, and in his progress attacked and subdued the Cossæans, “a warlike nation in the mountains of Media, which none of the Persian kings could ever bring into subjection to them.”*

In 335 B. C. Alexander was appointed Generalissimo of the Grecian forces, and in 323 he died at Babylon: So that in twelve years the Greek empire rose to its utmost extent and Glory, and thereby corresponded to the rapidity denoted by the four wings of a fowl upon the Leopard's back. Nor can this rapidity be attributed merely to human causes; but more especially to that divine providence, by which “*dominion was given*” to the Greeks, and by which, with forces so small, they were enabled to subdue and overwhelm so many great and powerful nations. The words of Prideaux will well close this detail respecting the rapidity of the Greek-conquests. “After that he, Alexander, subdued the Mardans, Arians, Dran-

* *Frid.* v. 1. p. 514.

gians, Aracausians, and several other nations, over which he flew with victory swifter than others can travel; often his horse pursuing his enemies upon the spur whole days and nights, and sometimes making long marches for several days one after the other, as once he did in pursuit of Darius, of near forty miles a day, for eleven days together. So that by the speed of his marches he came upon his enemy before they were aware of him, and conquered them before they could be in a posture to resist him. Which exactly agreeth with the description given of him in the prophecies of Daniel some ages before, he being in them set forth, under the similitude of a Panther, or Leopard, with four wings: For he was impetuous and fierce in his warlike expeditions as a Panther after his prey, and came upon his enemies with that speed, as if he flew with a double pair of wings."^t

But that which is very quick in growth is seldom lasting in duration; and hence the Greek empire soon lost its unity, and was divided into four principal kingdoms. This division into four kingdoms was represented by the four heads of the Leopard. For after the death of Alexander, Philip, and after him Alexander Œgus, reigned for a few years with little more than nominal authority; but, at the end of twenty two years, the empire was divided and settled into four kingdoms. "Ptolemy had Egypt, Lybia, Arabia, Cœle-Syria, and Palestine: Cassander, Macedon and Greece: Lysimachus, Thrace, Bithynia, and some other of the Provinces beyond the Hellespont and the Bosphorus: And Seleucus all the rest."^u

IV. The next great empire which succeeded the

^t Prid. v. 1. p. 504 See also from the year 335. to 323.

^u Prid. v. 1. p. 558.

Grecian, was the Roman: For, says Daniel (v. 7), "After this I saw in the night visions, and behold a fourth beast, dreadful and terrible, and strong exceedingly; and it had great iron teeth; it devoured and brake in pieces; and stamped the residue with the feet of it; and it was diverse from all the beasts that were before it, and it had ten horns." And again (v. 19. 23) he says, "Then I would know the truth of the fourth beast, which was diverse from all the others, exceeding dreadful, whose teeth were of iron, and his nails of brass, which devoured, brake in pieces; and stamped the residue with his feet. The fourth beast shall be the fourth kingdom upon earth, which shall be diverse from all kingdoms, and shall devour the whole earth, and shall tread it down, and break it in pieces."

Now this fourth beast has no name given to it, because of its diversity from all other beasts of prey: But if we consider the first and second verses of the thirteenth of Revelation, as explanatory of this beast, then it was compounded of the three which preceded it; for, says John, "I stood upon the sand of the sea, and saw a beast rise up out of the sea, having seven heads and ten horns. And the beast which I saw was like unto a Leopard, and his feet were as the feet of a bear, and his mouth, as the mouth of a lion." The Babylonian, Persian, and Grecian empires, or governments, were absolute monarchies: But the Roman was a *mixed* government, and therefore diverse from the three former; for in it, the people shared power and glory with their leaders, and the affairs of war and peace were transacted in their name. In the three former empires, the disposition to devour or conquer, depended upon the disposition of the monarch; but in the fourth, every individual, as it were, became an

instigator of war, and a leader in oppression: In the former all depended upon the will of one person; but, in the latter, the mass of the people were active agents of ambitious and tyrannical projects. The fourth beast had iron teeth, and brass nails, to denote its power and capacity of destroying; and in this respect it corresponds with the iron legs of the image seen by Nebuchadnezzar in his vision, because, like iron, it should break in pieces and subdue all things.

So great was to be the force of the Roman empire, that it was to devour the whole earth—to tread it down, and break it in pieces. Now we have already from history, proved and illustrated this part of the subject, in treating of that portion of Nebuchadnezzar's image,—the iron legs—which corresponds to the fourth beast; we will not then repeat what was there advanced, but add a few additional proofs. "How," says the great and learned Grotius, "did that *most celebrated* city of Rome procure that title, but by *Wars*; and those many times very unjust, as they themselves confess," * But on this subject the best proofs may be derived from the Roman authors themselves. Speaking of the evils endured by the Sicilians, Cicero says, "that they had endured for three years under the Roman Prætor, whatever luxury by flagitiousness, cruelty by punishment, avarice by rapine, or pride by contumely could effect." That his plundering and crimes were evident not only in Sicily, but in Achaia, Asia, Silicia and Pamphylia. That the provinces were wasted, harassed, and entirely overwhelmed; and that the afflicted and miserable allies and tributaries of the Roman people sought not the

* Grot. on the truth of the Christian Religion, B. 2. Sec. 13.

hope of safety, but the comfort of death."² Again, speaking of the *extent* of Pompey's victories, and of the Roman empire, he says, "One law, one man, one year, not only freed us from this misery and disgrace; but also effected, that we might in *reality* appear to rule all kingdoms and nations both by sea and land." But when he describes, in the same oration, the conduct of the Roman governors in their different provinces, he says, "It is difficult to say, O Quirites, in what hatred we are among foreign nations, on account of the injurious conduct and passions of those whom we have sent among them, during these past years, for the management of the government. For in these countries what temple has been held sacred by our magistrates, what city has been regarded, or what house has been sufficiently secured and defended against them? Yea, rich and abundant cities are sought after, that, from the love of plunder they may attack them."³ But lest this should be considered rather the exaggeration of oratory than an accurate account, let us see what the grave historians Florus and Sallust say upon the conduct of the Roman government. After the destruction of Carthage and Corinth by the Roman power, Florus tells us, that nothing was left in the whole world unattacked by their arms, and that every where there seemed, as it were, one war throughout the world. Of the Numantian war he says, "no cause of war could be more unjust." And of the Cretan, that the Romans undertook it from the mere lust of conquering that noble island.⁴ And Sallust, in giving a general view of the government, informs us, that from having been the best, and the most just, it became *cruel and intolerable*.⁵

² Cicero. in Q. Cæciliam. ³ Pro lege Manilla.

⁴ Florus. Delp. Ed. 4. p. 40, 74, 95.

⁵ Bel. Cat.

Here then we see, from the Roman historians themselves, how their government did devour the whole earth, and tread it down, and break it in pieces; and that the facts of history exactly correspond with the predictions of prophecy.

But strong and terrible as was the fourth beast—the Roman empire,—yet, like its predecessors, it was doomed to fall. Though it was strong as iron, yet it had in it the weakness of clay. The fourth beast had ten horns, to denote the dissolution of the empire, and its separation into ten kingdoms. In the year A. D. 476, Odoacer, Prince of the Heruli, subdued Italy, deposed Augustulus and put an end to that dominion which had been vainly thought eternal: And instead of one universal power, ten kingdoms occupied the regions which it had governed. These ten kingdoms are somewhat differently enumerated by the learned, though they may be said mainly to agree in their catalogues. Of these enumerations we shall give the chief; from which it will appear, that though there is some little difference in them, yet the number *ten* is discovered by them all.

The learned Mede's catalogue is as follows: "I, The Britons. and II, The Saxons in Britain. III, The Franks, and IV, The Burgundians in Gaul. V, The Wisigoths in the South of Gallia. VI, The Swevians and Alanes in Spain, Gallicia and Portugal. VII, The Vandals in Africa. VIII, The Almanes in Germany. IX, Ostrogoths in Pannonia. X, Greeks in the residue of the empire." ^b

Sir I. Newton ^c thus enumerates them: "I, The

^b Mede's works. p. 661.

^c Observations on Daniel p. 47.

Vandals and Alans in Spain and Africa. II, The Swevians in Spain. III, The Visigoths. IV, The Allans in Gaul. V, The Burgundians. VI, The Franks. VII, The Britains. VIII, The Hunns. IX, The Lombards. X, The kingdom of Ravenna." Bp. Newton's catalogue is thus: "I, The Senate of Rome II, The Greeks in Ravenna. III, The Lombards, IV, The Huns. V, The Alemanes. VI, The Franks. VII, The Burgundians. VIII, The Goths. IX, The Britons. X, The Saxons."^d But Mr. Faber rejects these catalogues and adheres to the one given by Machiavel, who drew it up merely as an historian, and, without any reference to the exposition of prophecy. In introducing this catalogue, Bp. Chandler observes, "What Jerom, with all the ecclesiastical writers expected upon the authority of Daniel, what he saw coming on apace in his days, did some years afterwards come to pass. The Northern nations, did, out of the provinces that belonged to the Western empire, of which Rome was then head, erect, and settle into *ten kingdoms*, neither more nor less; whose names Machiavel, little thinking what he was doing, gives us:" "I, Vandals in Africa. II, Alans and Sueves. III, Visigoths. IV, Burgundians. V, Franks. VI, Angli and Saxons. VII, Ostrogoths. VIII, Gepidæ (or, as Bp. Chandler shews, Langobardi.) IX, Huns. X, Heruli and Turingi." Here then we see the dissolution of the Roman empire,—the fourth beast into ten kingdoms fully accomplished: The course of events fulfils the prophecy, and proves the inspiration of the book of Daniel. "Some of these kingdoms at length fell, and new ones arose; but whatever was their

^d Dissertation 14.

^e Vind. &c. v. 1. p. 253.

number afterwards, they are still called the *ten kings* from their first number."'

We have now to consider the *little horn*, which rose up among the ten horns of the fourth beast: But as there are many particulars belonging to this horn, we shall consider it in the next dissertation.

Sir I. Newton's observations on Daniel, p. 73.

Dissertation

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CHAPTER VII.

IN our former dissertation, we have explained the prophecy respecting the four great empires down to the division of the Roman into ten kingdoms. But that which chiefly excited Daniel's attention was a *little Horn*, which arose up among the other ten Horns, and was distinguished by its character and properties from all the rest. Of this little Horn various particulars are described; and, that we may do justice to the subject, we shall devote a dissertation to its consideration.

Now, that we may bring the subject more completely in view, we shall state, first, at length, what the Prophet says of this Horn. "I considered the horns, (vs. 8, 20, 21, 24, 25) and, behold, there came up among them another little horn, before whom there were three of the first horns plucked up by the roots: And, behold, in this horn were eyes, like the eyes of man, and a mouth speaking great things. And (I would know the truth.) of the other which

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came up, and before whom three fell; even of that horn that had eyes, and a mouth that spake very great things, whose look was more stout than his fellows. I beheld, and the same horn made war with the Saints, and prevailed against them. And the ten horns out of this kingdom are ten kings that shall arise, and another shall arise *after* them; and he shall be diverse from the first, and he shall subdue three kings. And he shall speak great words against the Most High, and shall wear out the Saints of the Most High, and think to change times, and laws: And they shall be given into his hand until a time and times, and the dividing of time."

I. Now as this little horn came up among the ten horns, which were in the head of the fourth Beast, or Roman empire, we must see, whether any Power or State did arise among the ten kingdoms into which the Roman empire was divided, to which the properties and character of this little horn belong: And that Power or State, we shall find to be, the Papacy or Popedom.

The eleventh Horn is described as being a little one: "Behold there came up among them another *little* Horn." It is also represented as arising secretly and unobserved by the rest of the Horns till it surpasses or overtops them: "And another shall arise *after* them, and he shall be diverse from the first." Of the gradual progress of the Popedom, Machiavel gives us this short but clear account. "About this time the Popes began to be in greater authority than they were formerly. At first the successors of St. Peter were revered of all men; for the sanctity of their lives, and their miracles, and their examples did so extend the christian religion, that the princes were

under a necessity to obey it, to remove out of the way the great confusions that were then in the world. And the Emperor being become a christian, and departing from Rome to reside at Constantinople, the Roman empire began to decline, *and the church of Rome to grow as fast.* Nevertheless, till the coming in of the Lombards (seeing Italy was all under the government of the Emperors or the kings) the popes did not assume any more authority in those times than was due to a reverence of their customs, and their doctrines. Upon other occasions they obeyed the Emperors or the kings, (and sometimes were put to death by them) and were employed, as their ministers, on their affairs." ^s

Speaking of the Church of Rome or the Popedom, in the times of Cœlestine, in the fifth century, Mr. Milner says, "The church of Rome, though at this time *much degenerated from primitive purity*, must not however be deemed Anti-Christian, while the real doctrines of Christ were supported in it. *And though secular ambition was gradually making its way among her Bishops*, yet some of them were real good men and faithful Pastors, and I am willing to believe that Cœlestine was of the number." And of Leo, he says, "In the church it must be owned, that he took much pains concerning matters of discipline, that so far, as appears from circumstances, he supported the cause of truth and uprightness in general, *though with a constant attention to the amplification of the Roman See.* Antichrist was not yet risen to its stature: but was growing apace." ^h As the beginnings of the power of

^s Cited by Chandler. vind. &c. v. 1. p. 254.

^h Milner's Eccles. Hist. v. 2. p. 580, 584.

the Popedom were small, so, at first, they attracted the less attention; for the little horn arose *after* the ten horns: i. e. not *after* them, as it respects *time*; but *after* or *behind* them, as it respects situation or place; and I take the meaning implied to be, says Mr. Mede, "that the ten kings were not aware of the growing up of the little horn, till it overtopped them." And, indeed, the fact was, that the Popedom increased in power by slow but sure steps, till the kingdoms of Christendom were subjected to its control and sway. And as the little Horn is described as being *diverse* from the others, so the power of the Popedom is different from that of the monarchies into which the Roman empire was divided; for the former is *spiritual* the latter *temporal*. The Pope possesses power over the *consciences* of men; he binds and subjugates the mind, and holds the understanding in fetters, while temporal princes can but rule over the body. And by this spiritual influence, he obtains an ascendancy over men's principles and conduct, which must ever far exceed what temporal power can effect.

II. But this little horn was to be remarkable for its *vigilance, cunning, and assumption* of Power: For, "behold, in this horn were eyes like the eyes of man; and a mouth speaking great things, whose look was more stout than his fellows."

In very early times of the Christian church, we shall soon perceive, by a regular detail of circumstances, that the Popedom kept a constant watch and guard for the promotion of its own power;—and that it exercised great craft and impudence in demanding and obtaining it. "By its eyes," says Sir I. Newton, "it was a Seer; and by its mouth speaking great things, and changing times and laws, it was a prophet as well as

a king. And such a Seer, a prophet and a king is the church of Rome. A Seer, is a Bishop in the literal sense of the word, and this church claims the *Universal* Bishoprick. With his mouth he gives laws to kings and nations as an Oracle; and pretends to *infallibility*, and that his dictates are binding to the whole world; which is to be a prophet in the highest degree.”[†]

But let us proceed to a detail of our proofs. In the latter end of the year, A. D. 378 or the beginning of 379 “the emperor Valentinian enacted a law impowering the Bishop of Rome to examine and judge *other Bishops*.” In the beginning of the fifth century, Pope Innocent asserts, “that all Ecclesiastical matters throughout the world are, *by divine right*, to be referred to the Apostolic See, before they are finally decided in the provinces.”[‡] During the Popedom of Leo, in the same century, we find his Legate Paschasinus, at the council of Chalcedon, asserting the supreme power of the Roman Pontiff: For, “when the Bishops were all seated, the Pope’s Legates rising up, and advancing into the middle of the Assembly, we have here said Paschasinus, holding a paper in his hand, an order from the Most blessed and Apostolic Pope of the city of Rome, *which is the head of all churches*.” &c. And, in the latter part of this century Gelasius maintained, that the Roman See owed her Supremacy not to Councils, but to the words of our Saviour, Thou art Peter, &c.—“And that the Roman church is the *first* Church, because founded by the first Apostle:” According to which doctrine,

[†] Sir I. Newton’s observations on Daniel. p. 75.

[‡] Bower’s History of the Popes. v.1 p. 187, 323. Sir I. Newton’s observations. p. 90, 91.

about the beginning of the sixth century, the friends of Pope Symmachus maintained "that no assembly of Bishops had a power to judge the Pope; and that he was accountable for his actions to God alone."¹ And, that nothing might be wanting, to the formal acknowledgement of this universal power, in the year 606, Pope Boniface III. obtained from the Emperor Phocas a Grant or Prescript, by which he was appointed *universal* Bishop and *supreme* head of the church.

After this the Popedom did indeed carry a look more stout than his fellows, for we shall soon find the Popes assuming to themselves universal power both *temporal* and *spiritual*: For Pope Gregory II. about the year 726, not only confirmed the worship of images, but "excommunicated the Greek Emperor, absolved the people from their allegiance, and forbade them to pay tribute, or otherwise be obedient to him." And, "in the year 751 Pope Zechary deposed Childeric, a slothful and useless king of France, and the last of the race of Merovæus; and absolving his subjects from their oath of Allegiance, gave the kingdom to Pipin the Major of the Palace."^m At the latter end of the eleventh century Pope Gregory VII. in a council at Rome pronounced a sentence of excommunication against Henry of Germany, and absolved his subjects from their allegiance; nor did he absolve the king till he had subjected him to the greatest indignity and degradation: For he was obliged "to divest himself of all ensigns of Royalty, to put on, in their stead a coarse woollen tunic, and to wait bare footed in that garb, in the month of January, till it should please the Pope to command the third gate to be opened in

¹ Bower &c. v. 2. p. 58, 233, 261. Baronius annals A. D. 606.

^m Sir I. Newton's observations on Daniel. p. 77, 78.

order to admit him to his presence. In that condition he returned, and was forced to wait three whole days fasting from morning to night, and imploring the mercy of God and the Pope." But "Gregory was not satisfied with the power of pulling down and setting up Princes, Kings and Emperors at pleasure, as king of kings, Monarch of the world, and sole Lord both spiritual and temporal over the whole earth;" but, he claimed the *sovereignty* of all the kingdoms of Europe, as having once belonged to St. Peter, whose right was unalienable." "And, "pretending that *all power, spiritual as well as temporal*, centered in him," he "claimed and exercised the same supreme unlimited uncontrollable authority over Bishops and the other ministers of the church in Spiritual matters, as he did over Emperors and Kings in temporal concerns." Nor did the Popedom, as yet, cease to maintain a look more stout than his fellows, for in the fourteenth century Boniface VIII. by means of his Nuncio the Archdeacon of Narbonne, admonished Philip of France, "that he as well as all other Princes, was bound to acknowledge, that he held from the Pope, the *temporal* sovereignty of his kingdom:" "—And Clement VI. in his quarrel with the Emperor of Germany, insisted, as one of the conditions of his absolution, "that he should acknowledge the empire to be in the gift of the Apostolic See." In the fifteenth century, powers and pretensions, no less extensive, were set up and exercised by the Pope. He claimed the right of disposing of all newly discovered countries: accordingly Eugene IV. by a Bull, granted to the Portuguese

" Bower. v. 5. p. 266, 303, 308.

* Cited in Miller's Phil. of History. v. 1. p. 530. Bower v. 6. p. 360—1. 459.

“an exclusive right to all the countries which they should discover, from Cape Non to the Continent of India.” And, “extravagant as this donation, comprehending such a large portion of the habitable globe, would now appear even in Catholic countries, no person in the fifteenth century doubted that the Pope, in the plenitude of his Apostolic power, had a right to confer it:”—And in like manner, Alexander VI. “bestowed on Ferdinand and Isabella all the countries inhabited by Infidels, which they had discovered, or should discover; and, in virtue of that power which he derived from Jesus Christ, he vested in the crown of Castile a right to vast regions, to the possession of which he himself was so far from having any title, that he was unacquainted with their situation, and ignorant even of their existence.” And in such a state of subjection to the Pope, were the minds of men, that Alonso de Ojeda, in his expedition to America, took with him an instrument drawn up by “several of the most eminent divines and lawyers in Spain,” in which it was stated, “God our Lord gave the charge of all those people to one man, named St. Peter, whom he constituted the Lord and head of all the human race; that all men, in whatever place, they are born, or in whatever faith or place they are educated, might yield obedience unto him. He hath subjected the whole world to his jurisdiction, and commanded him to establish his residence in Rome, as the most proper place for the government of the world. He likewise promised and gave him power to establish his authority in every other part of the world, and to judge and govern all Christians, Moors, Jews, Gentiles and all other people of whatever sect, or faith, they may be. To him is given the name of POPE which signifies admirable, great Father, and Guardian, because he is the Father and governor of ALL MEN.

Those who lived in the time of this Holy Father obeyed and acknowledged him, as their Lord and king, and the *Superior of the Universe*. *The same has been observed with respect to them who, since his time, have been chosen to the Pontificate. Thus it now continues; and will continue to the end of the world.*" ^p

From this detail, it is plain, that the *little horn*—the Popedom—did by regular and certain degrees advance in power and dominion, till he overtopped his fellows, and made them submit to his authority. His look was indeed more stout than theirs; for he made kings and Emperors to tremble on their thrones, when he issued his anathemas against them. But that we may give a brief view of the *rise* of the Popedom, and its *attainment* of such vast power, we shall conclude this part of our dissertation with a quotation from Sir I. Newton.

“ While this ecclesiastical dominion was rising up, the Northern barbarous nations invaded the western empire, and founded several kingdoms therein, of different religions from the church of Rome. But these kingdoms, by degrees, embraced the Roman faith, and, at the same time, submitted to the Pope’s authority. The Franks in Gaul submitted in the end of the fifth century; the Goths in Spain, in the end of the sixth; and the Lombards, in Italy, were conquered by Charles the Great, A. C. 774. Between the years 775 and 794 the same Charles extended the Pope’s authority over all Germany, and Hungary, as far as the river Theysse, and the Baltic sea; he then set him above all human judicature, and at the same time assisted him in subduing the city and duchy of Rome. By the conversion of the ten kingdoms to the Roman

^p Robt. Amer, 2. Ed. v 1. p. 49, 113, 192, 444.

religion, the Pope only enlarged his *Spiritual* dominion, but did not yet rise up as a horn of the Beast. It was his *temporal* dominion which made him one of the horns; and this dominion he acquired in the latter half of the eighth century, by subduing three of the former horns as above. And now being arrived at a temporal dominion, and a power above all human judicature, he reigned with a look more stout than his fellows, and times and laws were henceforward given into his hands, for a time, times and half a time, or three times and an half; i. e. for 1260 Solar years, reckoning a time for a Calendar year of 360 days, and a day for a Solar year. After which the judgment is to sit, and they shall take away his dominion, *not at once, but by degrees*, to consume and to destroy it unto the end. And the kingdom and dominion and greatness of the kingdom under the whole heaven, shall *by degrees*, be given unto the people of the Saints of the Most High, whose kingdom is an everlasting kingdom, and all dominions shall serve and obey him."⁴

III. A third characteristic, or property of the *little horn*, was, that he should "subdue three kings:" or, "before whom there were three of the first horns plucked up by the roots."

Now this will be found to have been done by the Popedom; for by its intrigues and exertions, three of the ten kingdoms, into which the Roman empire was divided, became subject to its dominion, and the Pope became a *temporal* as well as a *spiritual* Potentate. There is indeed some difference among the learned, as to *which three* of the ten kingdoms are

⁴ Sir I. Newton's observations on Daniel, p. 113, 114.

here intended: but still, it is a difference which tends to shew more fully the accomplishment of the prophecy in the Popedom.

“The three kings,” says Mr. Mede, “which Daniel saith the Antichristian Horn should *depress* and *displant*, to advance himself, were those whose dominions extended into Italy, and so stood in his light. First, That of the Greeks, whose Emperor Leo Isaurus for the quarrel of image worship, he excommunicated and made his subjects of Italy revolt from their allegiance. Secondly, that of the Longobards; (successors to the Ostrogoths) whose kingdom he caused, by the aid of the Franks, to be wholly ruined and extirpated, thereby to get the Exarchate of Ravenna, (which, since the revolt from the Greeks, the Longobards were seized on) for a patrimony to St Peter. Thirdly, the last was the kingdom of the Franks itself, continued in the empire of Germany; whose emperors, from the days of Henry the fourth, he excommunicated, deposed and trampled under his feet, and never suffered to live in rest, till he made them not only to quit their interest in the election of Popes and investitures of Bishops, but that remainder also of jurisdiction in Italy, wherewith together with the Roman name he had once infeoffed their Predecessors. These were the kings by displanting, or (as the vulgar hath) *humbling* of whom the Pope got elbow room by degrees, and advanced himself to that height of temporal majesty and absolute greatness, which made him so terrible in the world.” Sir I. Newton reckons them, the Exarchate of Ravenna;—the kingdom of the Lombards;—And the Senate and Dukedom of Rome.* And Bishop Newton enumer-

* Mede's works. p. 479.

* Sir I. Newton's obs. on Daniel p. 75.

ates them, the Exarchate of Ravenna; the kingdom of the Lombards; and the state of Rome. † Which agrees with Sir I. Newton's enumeration. Mr. Faber, however, argues with great acuteness against the three Horns enumerated by Mr. Mede, and also those by Sir I. and Bishop Newton; and proposes them thus; "The kingdom of the Heruli;—the kingdom of the Ostrogoths;—and the kingdom of the Lombards." ‡ But though there is this difference amongst the learned, as to the *three* Horns which fell before the little Horn—the Popedom; yet, it is plain, that they easily discover the number *three* to which the prophecy applies; And this discovery proves, that the prediction has been fulfilled, and that the Popedom is the little Horn of the fourth Beast—the Roman empire.

IV. The little Horn, also, was to be noted for its persecution of good men, and for its cruelty, and oppression: For, says Daniel, "I beheld, and the same horn made war with the Saints, and prevailed against them. And shall wear out the Saints of the Most High." Now, as we have already, by a regular detail of circumstances, shewn the *vigilance, cunning, and assumption* of power, which the Popedom exercised, so, by a like detail, we shall shew its *oppression, cruelty, and persecution of good men*.

During the first ages of Christianity, several of the Roman Emperors cruelly persecuted the church of Christ: But when this kind of persecution had ceased, another arose under the influence and direction of the Popedom, which was still more cruel and destructive. The errors and corruptions of the church of Rome

† Bishop Newton's Dissertation, 14.

‡ Dissertation, v. l. p. 171. 1st. Ed.

became apparent, and were resisted by many: But, as she claimed supremacy, and deemed all men Heretics who opposed any of her dogmas; so she persecuted those unto death who dared to oppose her. Accordingly, in the twelfth century, we find that Peter de Bruys was *burnt* to ashes, and his disciple Henry "was put under a confinement in which he seems to have ended his days;" because they protested against the errors of the Popedom, such as the adoration of relics and images, masses, prayers for the dead, and transubstantiation. " In this century the Cathari, a people who opposed the corruptions of popery, were grievously persecuted, and many of them burnt to death in the furious zeal of the Papists. Thirty men and women who were Germans, appeared in England, and expressed their abhorrence of the doctrine of purgatory, of prayers for the dead, and of the invocation of Saints; They were brought before a council of the clergy at Oxford, and Henry II. " in conjunction with the council, ordered them to be branded with a hot iron on the forehead, to be whipped through Oxford, to have their clothes cut short by the girdles, and to be turned into the open fields. As it was the depth of winter, they all lost their lives through cold and hunger." * In this century the Waldenses were very numerous; and as they opposed the errors of the Popedom, so they felt all its fury and rage. Peter Waldo with pious zeal resisted the errors of Popery; but Pope Alexander III. anathematized him and his adherents, and ordered the most rigorous proceedings against them. Hence Philip Augustus of France "took up arms against the Waldenses of Picardy, pulled down three hundred houses of the gentlemen

* Milner's Church History. v. 3. p. 406—7—10—12.

† Milner's Church History. v. 3. p. 459.

who supported their party, destroyed some walled towns, and drove the inhabitants into Flanders. Not content with this, he pursued them thither, and caused many of them to be *burned*." "In Alsace and along the Rhine, the Gospel was preached with a powerful effusion of the Holy Spirit: persecutions ensued, and thirty-five citizens of Mentz were burned at one fire in the city of Bingen, and at Mentz eighteen. The Bishop of Mentz was very active in these persecutions, and the Bishop of Strasburg was not inferior to him in vindictive zeal; for, through his means, eighty persons were burned at Strasburgh." ^y In the beginning of the thirteenth century Pope Innocent III. instituted the Inquisition: "And the Waldenses were the first objects of its cruelty. He authorized certain Monks to frame the process of that court, and to deliver the supposed heretics to the secular power. The beginning of the thirteenth century saw *thousands of persons hanged or burned* by these diabolical devices, whose sole crime was, that they trusted only in Jesus Christ for salvation, and renounced all the vain hopes of self-righteous idolatry and superstition." "From the year 1206, when it (the inquisition) was first established, to the year 1228 the havoc made among helpless Christians was so great, that certain French Bishops, in the last mentioned year, desired the Monks of the Inquisition, to defer a little their work of imprisonment, till the POPE was advertised of the great numbers apprehended; numbers so great, that it was impossible to defray the charge of their subsistence, and even to provide stone and Mortar to build prisons for them."^z But

^y Milner's Church History. v. 3. p. 480—2.

^z Milner's Church History. v. 3. p. 526—8. Bower's History of the Popes. 1n, 3.

the cruelty of Popery is insatiable, and therefore it felt no relentings at the misery of the pious Waldenses, but put them to death in the most dreadful manner. When, therefore, "the castle of Menerbe on the frontiers of Spain, for want of water, was reduced to the necessity of surrendering to the *Pope's legate*;" He and the infamous Earl Simon of Montfort, because they adhered to their faith, "caused a great fire to be kindled, and they burned a hundred and forty persons of both sexes." In the year 1380 Frances Borelli armed with a Bull from the Pope, signalised himself by persecuting the Saints. "In the space of thirteen years he delivered a hundred and fifty persons to the secular power, to be burned at Grenoble. In the valley of Fraissiniere and the neighbourhood, he apprehended eighty persons who also were burned." About 1460 "in the valley of Loyse, *four hundred little children were found suffocated in their cradles*, or in the arms of their deceased mothers, in consequence of a great quantity of wood being placed at the entrance of the caves and set on fire. On the whole, above three thousand persons belonging to the valley were destroyed, and this righteous people (the Waldenses) were in that place exterminated."—In 1488 Innocent VIII. by means of his agents with large forces, attacked these pious people with the sword: And in 1560 Pope Pius IV exercised the most savage barbarity upon them in Calabria, and caused great numbers to be tortured and murdered; and to complete his cruelty, caused Lewis Paschal to be burnt alive at Rome in his own sight. * And in 1572 a general Massacre was made by the Papists of all the Protestants throughout the kingdom of France; And in England, not many

* Milner's Church History. v. 3. p. 538—49.

years before, during the short reign of Mary, 800 victims were burnt by the cruel Papists.^b From this detail of historical facts we see how the little Horn—the Popedom—did persecute and wear out the Saints, and make war against them; and as it increased in power, so it increased in cruelty and oppression. But it may be necessary still to adduce more instances in confirmation of our subject.

Next to idolatry, the distinguishing features of Popery is, the prohibition of the Scriptures, in what are called the vulgar languages, and its persecution of those who have dared to read them in their native tongue. Hence, in the reign of Richard II. of England, Arundel, Archbishop of York, excited the king as much as possible, to persecute those “who should dare, in their native language, to read and study the Gospels of Jesus Christ.” And, in the reign of Henry V. the Archbishop of Canterbury “partly by exile, partly by forced abjurations, and partly by the flames, domineered over the Lollards; and almost effaced the vestiges of godliness in the kingdom.” And, in the diocese of Kent, “whole families were obliged to relinquish their places of abode, for the sake of the Gospel.”^c In the reigns of Henry VII. and Henry VIII. the most horrid cruelties were inflicted upon those who read the Scriptures, or opposed popish superstitions; they were burnt to ashes, and neither age nor sex were spared. Nor should we omit to mention the burning of John Huss, and Jerome of Prague, by the order of the council of Constance: These godly men opposed the wickedness of the Popedom, and soon found its power and cruelty in the

^b Tytler's *elements of General History*. v. 2. p. 224. Edit. 6.

^c Milner. v. 4. p. 138, 169, 170, 171. 173.

flames. And as Huss was treated, so were his devout followers; for "they were declared unworthy of the common rights of subjects; and, in the depth of winter, were driven out of the cities and villages, with the forfeiture of all their effects. The sick were thrown into the open fields, where many perished with cold and hunger. Various sorts of *torture* were inflicted on the brethren: numbers were barbarously *murdered*; and many died in the prisons." ^d Of Pope Pius V. Bower says, "He was by principle, a principle which he had imbibed in the horrid school of the inquisition, as bloody a persecutor as a Nero, or a Dioclesian, and a most zealous assertor of the pretended privileges of his See. When raised to the Popedom he spared none, who were but suspected of approving the new doctrine. Peter Carnesecchi, a man of distinction in Florence, was, by his order, condemned to the flames, being convicted of corresponding with some of the reformed religion in Germany. And, Antonius Palearius, one of the best writers of his age, underwent the same fate, for saying, that in some things the Lutherans were excusable, and that the inquisition was the bane of all learning." Pius also "encouraged Charles the ninth of France to make war upon his *Protestant* subjects." ^e

We shall close this detail, by an abstract from the very learned Mede's explanation of the war which the Beast, in the book of the revelation, should make against the Saints; and which is the same war, that the little Horn of Daniel, under discussion, should make against them.

^d Milner. v. 4. p. 264.

^e Bower. v. 7. 464, 5.

“ The Beast, (i. e. the little Horn) did not at its *first rise* carry on this war, but, after it had attained its aim;—during the twelfth century. Its *first expedition* was against the Albigenses and Waldenses, and whoever were the true worshippers of Christ; of whom there was so great a slaughter made, that in France alone, *ten hundred thousand men were slain*. For not only were they persecuted by being burnt alive, by confiscation of property, and exile; but whole armies were set in motion against them with incredible barbarity and fury for seventy years. A war of no less magnitude than had been carried on against the Saracens, was decreed against them: the event of which was, that they were slain, exiled, and deprived of their property and honours, rather than driven from their sentiments. They fled amongst the Alps, and into Calabria; where they continued till the Pontificate of Pius IV. a part fled into Germany, and fixed their residence in Bohemia, Poland, and Livonia; and others found a refuge in Britain. Should any one reckon, he would find, that the number slain during four hundred and fifty years exceeded those that were destroyed in the ten heathen persecutions. From the origin of the Jesuits to the year 1480, i. e. in about thirty years, *nine hundred thousand* orthodox Christians were slain. In Belgium alone, the duke of Alva, that cruel champion of the Roman See, boasted that he had by the hand of the common executioner, dispatched *thirty-six thousand Souls, within a few years*. In about thirty years the Inquisition destroyed, by various kinds of tortures *a hundred and fifty thousand* Christians: And Sanders himself confesses, that an innumerable multitude of Lollards and Sacramentarians were *burnt* throughout all Europe.”[†]

[†] Mede. p. 503, 4. I suspect some error, where Mr. Mede says,

V. But the little Horn—the Popedom,—was not only to be cruel and persecuting towards the Saints, but impious against God: He was to have (v. 8, 25.) “a mouth speaking great things. And he shall speak great words against the Most High. And think to change times and laws.”

We have already shewn what power and authority the Popedom has assumed over all *human* things: we shall now find that it has assumed no less in matters which are *divine*. When the little Horn is described as speaking great words against the Most High, it may be understood, “as Symmachus interprets it, he shall speak great words As the Most High, setting up himself above all laws divine and human, arrogating to himself godlike attributes and titles of *holiness* and *infallibility*, exacting obedience to his ordinances and decrees, in preference to and open violation of reason and scripture, insulting men and blaspheming God. In Gratian’s decretals the Pope hath the *title* of God given to him.”^s

But if we consider how the Popedom has promoted *idolatry*, arrogated to itself *infallibility*, and granted *indulgences*, or a *licence* to sin, we shall soon see what great words it has spoken against the Most High: for to promote any one of these three things, and much more them all, is to oppose and resist God to the utmost degree. “In the year 727 (says Mr Milner) the Greek emperor began open hostility with the Bishop of Rome, and, to use the words of Sigonius, Rome

“to the year 1480.” And think it should be 1580; as the Society of Jesuits was not instituted till 1535.

^s Bishop Newton’s Dissertation 14.

and the Roman Dukedom passed from the Greek to the Roman Bishop. I shall assume this as the most proper date, that I know of, for the beginning of *Popedom*; which, from this time, is to be regarded as antichrist indeed; for it set itself, by temporal power, to support false doctrine, and particularly that, which deserves the name of *idolatry*." Respecting images, thus writes Pope Gregory III. to the emperor: "Because you are unlearned and ignorant, we are obliged to write to you rude discourses, but full of sense and the word of God. You say that we adore stones, walls, and boards. It is not so, my Lord: but those symbols make us recollect the persons whose names they bear, and exalt our grovelling minds. We do not look upon them as Gods; but if it be the image of Jesus, we say, Lord help us. If it be the image of his mother, we say, Pray to your Son, to save us. If it be of a martyr, we say, St. Stephen, pray for us. Do you cease to persecute *images*, and all will be quiet." "In 732, Gregory, in a council, excommunicated all, who should remove or speak contemptuously of *images*." ^a "Certainly, (says the pious Milner) this is the language of Antichrist, supporting idolatry, by pretences to *infallibility*." When Stephen II. was Pope, he implored the aid of Pepin against As-tulphus, "And wrote to all the French Dukes, exhorting them to succour St Peter, and promising them the *remission of their Sins, a hundred fold* in this world, and in the world to come life everlasting. So rapidly advanced the *Popedom*. From this time he not only assumed the tone of *infallibility* and spiritual dominion, but became literally a temporal prince." ⁱ In the ninth century the *Popedom* was

^a Milner. v. 3. p. 161, 175—6

ⁱ Milner. v. 3. p. 178, 180.

triumphant against the Most High ; in “ the preference given to human writings above the Scriptures—the domination of the Popedom—the accumulation of ceremonies—and the oppression of the godly.” The Scriptures were deemed unfit for popular reading : And “ ignorance and superstition were so predominant that whoever dared to oppose the Bishop of Rome, drew upon himself an host of enemies. All who looked for advancement in the church, attached themselves to Antichrist. *Idolatry*, in the mean time, was practically supported by the whole power and influence of the Popedom.”—But even in those dark times some could perceive the wickedness of the Popedom, for Arnulph, Bishop of Orleans, says, “ What think you, reverend fathers, of this man the Pope, placed on a lofty throne, shining in purple and gold? whom do you account him? if destitute of love, and puffed up with pride of knowledge only, *he is Antichrist*, sitting in the temple of God.” ^k

And not only did the Popedom promote *idolatry*, but also granted *indulgences* by which men felt as having a licence to sin, and as being freed from future punishment. The inferior dignitaries of the church had indeed, for money, remitted various ecclesiastical penalties; but “ they had not, however, pretended to abolish the punishments, which await the wicked in a future state: this impiety was reserved to the *Pope himself*, who dared to usurp the Authority, which belongs to God alone.” In the twelfth century the *Popes*, “ not only remitted the penalties, which the civil and ecclesiastical laws had enacted against transgressors, but audaciously usurped the *authority*,

^k Milner. v. 3. p. 215—16, 271.

which belongs to God alone, and impiously pretended to abolish even the punishments, which are reserved in a future state for the workers of iniquity.”¹ Hence Innocent III. in a bull, “declared that he would not endure the least contempt of himself, or of God, *whose place he held on earth*:”. And, in his Bull against the Albigenses, the Pope says, “We moreover promise to all those who shall take up arms to revenge the said murder, *the pardon and remission of their Sins*.” In 1234 Pope Gregory IX. to excite men to prosecute the Crusades, in his Bull says, “The service to which they are now invited is an *effectual atonement* for the miscarriages of a negligent life. The *holy war* is a compendious method of discharging men from guilt, and restoring them to the divine favour.” And, in the fifteenth century, Martin V. dissolved the council of Constance in this manner: “Martin, Bishop, Servant of the Servants of God,—at the request of the sacred council, we dismiss it.—Moreover; by the authority of Almighty God, and of the blessed Apostles St. Peter and St. Paul, *and by our own authority*, we grant to all the members of the council, *plenary absolution of all their sins once in their lives*. We also grant them the same privilege in the moment of death.” And “Pope Leo X. making use of that power which his predecessors had usurped over all Christian Churches, sent abroad into all kingdoms his letters and Bulls, with ample promises of the *full pardon of sins*, and of eternal salvation to such as would purchase the same with money.” “Myconius assures us, that he himself heard Tetzels” (who was employed to sell indulgences) “declaim with incredible effrontery, concerning the UNLIMITED POWER

¹ Milner. v. 3. p. 453. Mosheim. v. 2. p. 421.

OF THE POPE, and the efficacy of indulgences. The people believed, that the moment any person had paid the money for the indulgence, he became certain of his Salvation; and that the Souls, for whom the indulgences were bought, were instantly released out of purgatory." And when Luther himself describes what *had* been the state of his mind respecting the Pope, he says; "At that time I *adored* him in earnest: In fact how despised and wretched a monk was I then; more like a lifeless body than a human being! Whereas, in regard to the Pope, how great was his majesty! *The Potentates of the earth dreaded his nod.*"^a Like the beast, in the book of the Revelation, he blasphemes, or speaks against God, by promoting the worship of images and dæmons, and by demanding worship to be paid to a piece of bread, which he asserts is the body of Christ: He robs God of his honour and dignity; and sets up idolatry in conjunction with and opposition to the service of the Most High.^a

If, also, we consider the little Horn—the Popedom—as speaking great words *As* the Most High, or by the side of the Most High, as the passage might be rendered, thereby putting itself upon an equality with God, still the prophecy under discussion applies to it. The Pope has his seat in the Christian church: "And he sitteth there, *as God*, especially at his inauguration when he sitteth upon the high altar in St. Peter's church, and maketh the table of the Lord his footstool, and in that position receiveth *adoration*. At all times he exerciseth divine authority in the church, *shewing himself that he is God*; affecting divine titles

^a Milner. v. 3. p. 462, 532, v. 4. p. 9, 256, 282, 288, 331.

^a Mede. p. 501,—2,—3.

and attributes; as *holiness* and *infallibility*; assuming divine powers and prerogatives, in condemning and absolving men, in retaining and forgiving sins, in asserting his decrees to be of the same or greater authority than the word of God, and commanding them to be received under the penalty of the same or greater damnation. Like another Salmoneus he is proud to imitate the state and thunder of the Almighty; and is stiled, and pleased to be stiled; OUR LORD GOD, THE POPE; ANOTHER GOD upon earth; king of kings, and Lord of Lords. THE SAME IS THE DOMINION OF GOD AND THE POPE. To believe that our Lord God the Pope, might not decree, as he decreed, it were a matter of heresy. The power of the pope is greater than all created power and extends itself to things celestial, terrestrial, and infernal. The pope doth whatsoever he listeth, even things unlawful, and IS MORE THAN GOD.* Here then we see what is meant, by the little Horn thinking "to change times and laws:"—that it signifies, he will assume to himself *absolute power*; and will speak and act as if he were God. And that the Popedom has done so, has surely been more than sufficiently proved.

The spirited words of Bishop Jewel will well suit our subject. "Who at this day admits kings and monarchs to kiss his feet? Who commands an Emperor to stand at his horse's bridle? And a king of the Gauls to hold his stirrup? Who threw under his table, Dandalus, and the Chief of Venice, and the king of Crete, and Cyprus, to eat bones like dogs? Who, but Pope Coelestine, placed the diadem on the head of the Emperor Henry VI. not with his hands

* Bishop Newton's Dissertation 22. Pole's Syn. 2. Thes. 2. 4. Mede. p. 737.

but his foot; and with his foot kicked it off again, adding, that he had the power of creating and deposing Emperors? Who, but the Pope Hildebrand, armed the Son against the Emperor Henry IV. and by means of the Son took the father captive; and, after ignominious treatment, threw him into a monastery, to pine away in want and grief? Who, but Pope Alexander III. subjected the neck of the Emperor Frederick to his feet? All these were Popes: All the successors of St. Peter; all most holy men; every one of whose dictums is to be esteemed the Gospel." ^p And we may add, who has endeavoured to alter the laws of God and nature, by forbidding marriage to the clergy;—by absolving men from the most solemn oaths and obligations;—by granting dispensations to what may be properly called incestuous marriages;—by exalting the traditions of men above the word of God;—by forbidding the use of the Scriptures in the vulgar tongue;—by claims of infallibility;—and by idolatry and giving men a licence to sin? These things the little Horn,—the Popedom,—has done; and has proved itself that man of Sin, whom the Lord will destroy.

VI. But however powerful the little Horn—the Popedom—might be, yet its dominion was to be destroyed: The duration of its tyranny is limited (v. 25.) to "a time and times, and the dividing of time." Now by a time we are here to understand a prophetic year, consisting of 360 days;—by times, two such years; and by the dividing of time, half of such a year: the whole time, therefore, is three prophetic years and a half, or 1260 solar years. A day in the stile of the Prophets is a year: hence (Ezekiel, iv. 6) "Thou shalt bear the iniquity of the house of Judah

^p Jewel's Apology.

forty days: I have appointed thee *each day for a year*:" And (*Daniel*, ix. 24), "Seventy weeks are determined upon thy people;" i. e. Seventy weeks of years, where each day reckons for a year. The time, times, and dividing of time, here mentioned by Daniel, are evidently the same period as that mentioned by St. John; (*Revelation*, xi. 2, 3. xii. 6, 14): Where, the Holy city was to be trodden under foot forty and two months, i. e. 1260 prophetic days; since the Jewish month consisted of thirty days. Where, the witnesses were to prophecy in sackcloth a thousand two hundred and threescore days: Where, the woman should be fed in the wilderness, a thousand two hundred and three-score days; and be nourished for a *time, and times, and half a time*. All these differently stated periods are evidently one and the same both in Daniel and St. John; they comprehend the same events, and terminate at the same time: And that the word "time" means a year, is manifest from (*Daniel*, iv. 16.) where, it is said of Nebuchadnezzar, "let *seven times* pass over him," i. e. *seven years*. But, as the 1260 days of St. John are reckoned for Solar years; so, also, the time, times, and the dividing of time, in Daniel, must be accounted three and a half prophetic years, or 1260 Solar years. As the Periods in Daniel and John are the same; so the leading events, mentioned by each of them, as occurring in that time, are the same: Now these events are too many and important to be comprehended in three and a half *natural years*; for, during the period in question, as Mr. Mede observes, there were, "I, Ten kingdoms founded at the same hour with the Beast, (c. xvii.) II, Peoples and multitudes of nations and tongues to serve and obey him, (xiii.) III, To make war with the Saints and overcome them,

ibid. IV, To cause all that dwell upon the earth to worship him, ibid. V. *Babylon* to ride the beast so long, that all nations shall drink the wine of her fornication, all kings of the earth commit fornication with her, (c. xvii and xviii.) VI, The merchants, and all those that had ships in the sea, to grow rich by trading with her (c. 18.) These things should ask more than *three years* work or four either."⁹ Besides, the little Horn—the Popedom,—is not a single person; but a succession or series of persons exercising their power and authority in a cruel and oppressive manner: we must, therefore, compute the time during which they should prevail, as Bishop Newton says, "according to the nature and genius of the prophetic language."^r And, hence the time, times, and dividing of time, or the three years and a half of Daniel, will appear to be not *Natural* but *Prophetic*, or *Symbolical* years; i. e. 1260 Solar years; Since the time refers not to a single man, but to a succession or series of men,

Now if we knew accurately *when* to date the *commencement* of these 1260 years, we should know exactly when they would terminate: But in this there is great difficulty; nor do I think we shall know with certainty from what period to date their commencement, till after their completion. On this subject, Mr. Mede says; "I waved not the question of the *ending* of the 42 months more than that of their *beginning*; for as I designed their *beginning* in a latitude, so by consequent I do their *ending*. If

⁹ Mede. p. 598.

^r Bishop Newton's Dissertation 14. Mr. Faber's Dissertation on Prop. v. 1. p. 133—8. 1st. Edit. Sir. I. Newton's observations, p. 114.

they *begin* between the years 365 and 455, they must *end* between the years 1625 and 1715. Only I refused precisely to determine the year of their *ending*; which for some reasons, I supposed, should not certainly be known, till the event should make it manifest; according as was not the precise *beginning* of the seventy years of the Babylonish captivity, till the event discovered it by their *ending*. For when the *Articuli* are more than one to begin at, who can determine at which God will reckon the *beginning*; and consequently at what precise year shall be the *ending*? Yet, as God accompted the seventy years of the Babylonish captivity from a remarkable moment of that latitude of time the Jews were entering into, so, I believe, the same allwise God will do the Period of the forty two months, from some remarkable moment in the latitude of their *beginning*. However, because such remarkable moments or terms are more than one, all that we can say is, that it shall be from some *one* of them; and it may be from *some one* we observe not; God in his wisdom, till he sees fit, veiling it from our eyes."* Mr. Milner, Sir. I. Newton, and Bishop Newton concur in fixing the *commencement* of the 1260 years in the eighth century which will bring out their *termination* about the year 2000: because, that in the eighth century, the Pope became a *temporal* prince. But Mr Faber argues with great force and ingenuity to prove, that they should be dated from the year 606, when Phocas gave the title of *universal* Bishop to the Pope, and *formally constituted him the Supreme head of the church*. If, then, Mr. Faber's date be the proper one, the termination of the 1260 years will be in the year 1866. But on this subject I pretend not to

* Mede. p. 600.

be positive; as I believe the *termination* of the 1260 years must have taken place some time, before their *commencement* can with accuracy be fixed.

But though the *time* for the absolute destruction of the Power of the Popedom be uncertain; yet its *destruction* is as certain, as its rise and progress: for, "the judgment (v. 26) shall sit, and they shall take away his dominion, to consume and to destroy it unto the end." But as its rise and progress was gradual, so also will be its downfall: And, as we now perceive the Popedom very much diminished in power and influence, so we may feel confident that the divine vengeance will pursue it, till its power and influence are completely destroyed. As the Popedom has spoken great words against the Most High; So, the ancient of days—the Most High,—will sit in judgment upon it, and condemn it to utter destruction: "For I beheld," says the Prophet, (v. 9—11). "till the thrones were cast down; (i. e. set down, in order for the judge and his assessors to take their seats as in the Jewish Sanhedrim) and the Ancient of days did sit, whose garment was white as snow, and the hair of his head like the pure wool: his throne was like the fiery flame, and his wheels as burning fire. A fiery stream issued and came forth from before him; thousand and thousands ministered unto him, and ten thousand times ten thousand stood before him: the judgment was set, and the books were opened. I beheld, then, because of the voice of the great words which the horn spake:—I beheld even till the beast was slain, and his body destroyed, and given to the burning flame." Now by comparing these verses with the twenty-sixth verse, the interpretation seems to be, that the fourth beast—the Roman empire, and the little Horn—the Popedom—shall both be entirely destroyed by the just

judgments of God. The former may be considered as having long ago ceased to exist: the latter is much on the wane; though, it is probable, the Popedom will make some violent struggles and efforts to regain power before it finally expires. In the beginning of the sixteenth century Popery received a deadly blow, by the Reformation so happily begun by Luther. At that Period the Bible was brought into general use; and the light of the Holy Scriptures soon discovered the errors and evils of the Popedom. And as the Bible is spread, so will the power and influence of Popery be diminished. The principle means by which the Popedom has prevailed, has been the prohibition of the Scriptures in the vulgar tongue; the full and free circulation of the Bible will, therefore, be the chief means of its downfall. Both as a temporal and spiritual power, the Popedom has lost *much* of its former greatness and influence: It has gone gradually into decay, and will fall into utter weakness and ruin at the expiration of the 1260 years, when the Saints shall possess the kingdom; "And the kingdom and dominion (v. 27) and the greatness of the kingdom under the whole heaven, shall be given to the people of the Saints of the Most High, whose kingdom is an everlasting kingdom; and all dominions shall serve and obey him."

VII. However, then, true religion and piety may be persecuted by the Popedom, and however godliness may be depressed for the space of 1260 years; yet it is plain, that, at the expiration of this period, the Gospel of Christ will be extended most widely, and that the kingdoms of this world will become the kingdoms of our Lord and of his Christ, and he shall reign forever and ever: "For I saw in the night visions," says Daniel, (v. 13, 14.) "And, behold, one like

the Son of man, came with the clouds of heaven, and came to the ancient of days, and they brought him near before him. And there was given him, dominion, and glory, and a kingdom, that all people, nations, and languages, should serve him : his dominion is an everlasting dominion, which shall not pass away, and his kingdom that which shall not be destroyed." But upon this subject we shall say but little, as it has been already explained in treating of the vision of the image seen by Nebuchadnezzar. The kingdom of Christ has not yet become a great mountain and filled the whole earth : but it is evidently *increasing*. The stone which was cut out of the mountain *without hands* (*Daniel*, ii. 34, 35, 45) is enlarging its dimensions : and when the Power and Influence of the Popedom are entirely destroyed, then will truth and piety, religion and virtue, be spread much more abundantly over the face of the earth : then will the worship of the one true God, in Spirit and in truth, be general ; then will men, in general, believe in Christ the Son of God, as their Saviour and Redeemer ; and, then, will they, in general, seek to be sanctified by the influence of the eternal Spirit of truth and holiness. " All the ends of the world shall remember and turn unto the Lord : And all the kindreds of the nations shall worship before thee. For the kingdom is the Lord's ; and he is the governor among the nations," (*Psalms*, xxii. 27, 28).

Dissertation

11.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE vision contained in the seventh Chapter, which we have already explained, refers chiefly to a little horn—the Papacy,—which for many years was to persecute and lay waste the *Christian* church: We now, come, in this eighth chapter, to the consideration of another little horn, by which the *Jewish* church and people were to be grievously harassed and oppressed. The vision related in this Chapter was “in the third year of the reign of king Belshazzar,” (v. 1) i. e. 553 years B. C. and two years after Daniel had seen the former vision.

The place, in which the vision is described as appearing to the prophet, was well suited to the subject: for, as it begins with the empire of the Medes and Persians, so it is seen at Shushan, in the province of Elam, by the river of Ulai (v. 2.) Of these places, says Wells, ‘ “ It is evident from *Daniel*, viii. 2. and *Esther*, i. 2. that the kings of Persia had a palace in a

‘ Well’s Sac. Geog. v. 2. p. 95, 96.

city called Shushan, which we may well suppose to be the same called by the Greeks Susa, and so situated in the province of Susiana, which is the first province of Persia that lies on the East of the Euphrates or Tigris. This city probably took its name from the *lilies* which abound in these parts, for the *lily* is called *Shushan* in the Hebrew tongue. As from Shushan, the Greeks called the city itself Susa; so from their Greek name of the city, they called the province it lay in Susiana. In the fore-cited Chapter viii. 2. of Daniel, the prophet tells us, that he had a vision by the river of Ulai, which doubtless is the same called by the Greeks, Euleus. That it ran by the city, nay the palace of Shushan, is also clear from the fore-cited text. It is said to be the greatest river of the province of Susiana, and of so rare a stream, that the Persian kings would drink of no other water." The banks of a river are well fitted for the scene of a vision, or for devotion: from the effect which the flow of the waters and the retirement of the situation produce upon the mind: Hence Pharaoh (*Gen.* xli. 1.) stood by the river Nile, when he saw his vision; and the disciples (*Acts*, xvi. 13) "went out of the city *by a river side*, where prayer was wont to be made."

As we have already, in explaining Nebuchadnezzar's vision of the image, and Daniel's of the four beasts, treated at some length of the Persian and Greek empires, we shall briefly explain what has not yet come under our review; and then proceed more at large to consider the little Horn, which is the principal subject of this vision. The empire of the Medes and Persians (v. 3—5) is represented by a ram with two horns, one higher than the other; the higher of

which came up last, and the empire of the Greeks is represented by an He Goat: For, says Gabriel, (v. 20, 21,) “The ram which thou sawest having two horns are the kings (or kingdoms) of Media and Persia; and the rough goat is the king (or kingdom) of Grecia.”

Now there is great propriety in these empires being thus represented: For says Chandler;“ “We have little doubt, but the age and place, where Daniel was captive, suggested the like way of writing by images. His fictitious animals were surely symbols of the several empires he prophesies of. The *lion*, for instance, appearing with eagle’s wings, that were afterwards pluckt off, so that the beast walked on his feet leisurely like a man, was a language as well known at that time, to signify the *power* and *cruelty* of the *Assyrian empire*, and the *celerity* of its conquests for a while, and then its degenerating into *weakness*, as the arms, the colours, the field of Escutcheons are in latter days by Heralds. The *Ram* was the royal ensign of the Persians; and ram’s heads with horns, one higher and the other lower, are still to be seen on the pillars at Persepolis. The *Goat*, since their king Caranus, was the arms of Macedon. How intelligibly then and properly doth Daniel *see a goat with a notable horn*, to which he gives *wings*, because of the quickness of his success, to run against a ram with unequal horns, and cast him to the ground, when he foretells what the kingdom of Medes and Persians, should do and suffer from the kingdom of the Macedonian Greeks? In short, princes and nations being of old painted by their symbols, which Procopius doth therefore call their *gnorismata*, they came afterwards to be distin-

“ Chandler’s def. v. I. p. 153, 4.

guished by writers, with the names of their symbols, as by their proper appellations." The Author of the preface to Mr. Mede's works says, *it was customary among the Persians to wear a golden ram's head for a diadem*; And Mr. Mede himself^w still more at large explains this subject, when he says: "Nor is an example of this kind of allusion wanting in Daniel, Chapter viii. where the Macedonians, who at that time were called *Ægeadæ*, i. e. the *goat's people*, are described by the type of goats; and the king by the figure of an He Goat. Behold, says the Prophet, an He goat, i. e. the husband of the goats, came from the West. &c. Here he denotes Alexander the Great, the king of the *Ægeadæ*: who were the Macedonians: for the Macedonian nation were called *Ægeadæ*, where first was the seat of their kingdom, by Caranus their first king, more or less than two hundred years before Daniel. Justinus lib. 7. from Trogus relates the occasion of this name; whose words I shall adduce. Caranus, says he, with a multitude of Greeks, having been commanded by the Oracle to seek a settlement in Macedonia, seized the city Edessa, after he had come into *Æmathia*. And in doing this he followed a flock of goats, which were flying from a violent storm; and there he fixed his kingdom, remembering that the oracle had commanded him to settle where *the Goats* were his guide. And afterwards, wherever he moved his army, he religiously made the *Goats* his ensigns: He also called the town of Edessa, *Egea*; and the people *Egeadæ*," i. e. the goat's people. Mr. Mede also proceeds to shew, that the Hebrew words for a Ram, and for Elam or Persia, both arising from the

^w Mede's works. pref and p. 473, 474. Justin. l. 7. C. 1.

same root, and denoting the same thing, viz. *to be robust and strong*, may be put very properly as a type, the one for the other. The ram and the goat werethen most properly emblems in Daniel's vision of the Persian and Grecian empires. And to shew further what correct emblems they were, we may produce the observation of Bishop Newton^{*} as deduced from Pliny and Spanheim; "the city *Ægeæ* or *Ægæ*" i. e. the goat's city) "was the usual burying place of the Macedonian kings. It is also very remarkable, that Alexander's Son by Roxana was named Alexander *Ægus*, or *the Son of the goat*; and some of Alexander's successors are represented in their coins with *goat's horns*."

The Ram had *two* horns; "but one (v. 3) was higher than the other, and the higher came up last:" Now this shews us that the Persian empire, as was the case, was constituted of two principal nations, the Medes and the Persians; and that the Persians, who at first were inferior to the Medes, became the chief and commanding people. For after the death of his uncle Cyaxares the Mede, whose daughter Cyrus had married, he united both kingdoms; and by his energy and wisdom he raised the Persian name to such a degree, that the Median was almost entirely obscured by its splendour. In his own person Cyrus united the whole government of the two kingdoms, which he and his descendants enjoyed under the general name of the Persian. The Ram also was powerful, for (v. 4) he was "pushing Westward, and Northward, and Southward: so that no beasts might stand before him, neither was there any that could deliver out of his hand, but he did according to his will, and became great."

^{*} Bishop Newton's Dissertation 15.

As we have already described the Persian power and greatness under the symbols of a Bear, and the silver-breast and arms of the image in Nebuchadnezzar's vision, a few words will suffice to explain this part of our subject. On the West the Persians pushed their arms over Babylonia, Syria, Cappadocia, Asia Minor, and even into Greece: On the North, they attacked the Iberians, Albanians, Colchians, Caspians, Lydians, Armenians, and even against the Scythians Darius brought war: and on the South they pushed their arms against Arabia, Ethiopia, India and Egypt. So that, for the appointed time, no nation was able to withstand the Persian valour and power.†

But while the Ram was exulting in his power and domineering over the nations, "an He goat came from the West on the face of the whole earth, and touched not the ground: And the goat had a notable horn between his eyes" (v. 5.) Now who does not know that Greece was West of Persia? And the rapidity of Alexander's conquests was so great, that in about three years he completely overthrew and conquered the Persian empire. The notable Horn was Alexander, as the goat was the Grecian empire: for, says the Angel, (v. 21) "the rough goat is the king (or kingdom) of Grecia; and the great horn that is between his eyes is the *first king*." Justin informs us, that in a general council of the states of Greece held at Corinth, Alexander was chosen general in the room of his father, and then immediately applied himself to the Persian war: And, says Prideaux, "in a second council, which he called at Corinth, he was

† Pole in loco.

again chosen Captain General of all Greece against the Persians, by an universal suffrage; and every city consented to its quota both of men and money for the carrying on of the war.”* As soon as Alexander had prepared his army he advanced to the conflict: the goat ran against the ram in the fury of his power; he (v. 7) “ smote the ram, and brake his two horns; and there was no power in the ram to stand before him, but he cast him down to the ground, and stamped upon him: and there was none that could deliver the ram out of his hand.” No words can more strongly describe, than these, the destruction of the Persian empire by the rapidity and Valour of the Greeks led on by Alexander; they are a very picture of the events which took place in the war. With a very small army he plunged into and passed the Granicus, and at one onset routed the vast army of the Persians, and overwhelmed their power; so that he afterwards conquered the Prefects of Darius not so much by his arms, as by the terror of his name. At Issus he renewed the contest, and obtained equal success: And, about two years after, near to Arbela, with an Army of nearly fifty thousand, he vanquished Darius who had twenty times as many, and decided the fate of the Persian empire. For soon after this Darius himself was slain by the traitor Bessus; and, as the very learned and wise Prideaux observes, “ none after this could to any purpose make head against him, (Alexander), but all were forced to submit to the conqueror; and he thenceforth became absolute Lord of that empire in the utmost extent, in which it was ever possessed by any of the Persian kings. And hereby was fully accomplished all that which in the prophecies of

* Justin. l. 11. C. 2, Prideaux. An. 335.

Daniel was foretold concerning him. "•

In consequence of this entire conquest of the Persian empire, the Grecian empire, or he-goat waxed very great: but just as it had attained the summit of its power, the great horn, or Alexander, was broken; "and for it came up four notable ones towards the four winds of heaven." (v. 8). As to these four notable horns, the angel thus interprets them: (v. 22) "Now that being broken, whereas four stood up for it, four kingdoms shall stand up out of the nation, but not in his power." Alexander, the great horn, was broken, or died at Babylon, at the height of his conquests and power: For, about seven years after the death of Darius, on his return from India, Alexander fell a victim to intemperance. Having revelled all night, he began to be ill; and, within six days, the disease so exhausted his strength that he lost the power of speech: Justin says, that as he was quaffing the goblet, he groaned as if stabbed by a dart; and, being taken away half dead, he felt such torment that he demanded a sword to ease him of his pain. But the words of Prideaux are still more to our purpose: "He, having sat out one long drinking bout, was immediately invited to another, at which there being twenty in company, he drank to every one of them in their order, and pledged each of them again, and then calling for the *Herculean* cup, which held six of our quarts, he drank this full to Proteas a Macedonian, who was one of the guests, and a little after pledged him again in the same. Immediately after this last cup he dropped down upon the place, and then fell

• Just. L. 11. C. 14. 15. Prid. an. 331. 2. Curt. L. 4.

into that violent fever of which he died." ^b After the death of Alexander the government continued but a short time in his family; and the Greek empire was divided into four distinct kingdoms, which were represented by the four notable horns of the goat. But these kingdoms were "*not in his power*:" they were each far inferior in dignity and extent to the whole empire under Alexander; as a divided empire is inferior to one united, as a part is of necessity less than the whole of which it is a part. These four kingdoms were also to be "towards the four winds of Heaven;" For, "after the death of Antigonus, the four confederated princes divided his dominions between them, and hereby the whole empire of Alexander became parted and settled into four kingdoms." "Ptolemy had Egypt, Lybia, Arabia, Cœle-Syria, and Palestine on the *South*: Cassander had Macedon and Greece on the *West*: Lysimachus held Thrace, Bithynia and some other of the provinces beyond the Hellespont and the Bosphorus on the *North*: And Seleucus obtained Syria and the *Eastern* provinces." "And these four were the four Horns of the goat mentioned in the prophecies of the prophet Daniel, which grew up after the breaking off of the first horn. That first horn was Alexander king of Grecia, who overthrew the kingdom of the Medes and Persians; and the other four horns were these four kings, who sprung up after him, and divided his empire between them. And these also were the four heads of the Leopard spoken of in another place of the same prophecies. And their four kingdoms were the four parts into which, according to the same prophet, the kingdom of the mighty king, i. e. of Alexander, should be

^b Just lib. 12. C. 13. Prid. an. 323.

broken, and divided towards, i. e. according to the number of the four winds of heaven, among those four kings who should not be of his posterity; as neither of the four above mentioned were. And therefore by this last partition of the empire of Alexander were all these prophecies exactly fulfilled." ^c

We now come to the more immediate subject of this dissertation, viz, the little horn, which came forth out of *one* of the four notable horns: And this little one is Antiochus Epiphanes, king of Syria, who came into possession of that kingdom, when the kingdoms of the four horns were on the decline; i. e. according, to the angel's interpretation, (v. 23) " in the latter time of their kingdom." The two circumstances, which determine Antiochus Epiphanes to be this little horn, are the *place* of his origin, and the *time* of his obtaining power. The *place*, in which this little horn was to arise, was to be *one* of the kingdoms of the four horns; it was to arise *immediately and directly* " *out of one of them.*" Now this was exactly the case with Antiochus Epiphanes, who succeeded to the throne of *Syria* at the death of his brother Seleucus, and *immediately and directly* arose out of that kingdom; for both his brother and father had possessed its throne. The *time* also, in which this little horn was to arise, was to be, when the kingdoms of the four horns were *declining*: Now this was precisely the case when Antiochus came into power; for the kingdom of Syria itself had been subjected by the Romans, in the time of his father, to a *tribute* of a thousand talents to continue some years; and during the reign of his brother Seleucus he could do little more than pay it. The kingdom of Macedon also

^c Prid. an. 301. Bishop Newton's Dissertation 15.

was just about this time subjugated to the Roman yoke by Paulus Æmilius, and reduced to a province; and the rest of the four kingdoms were fast hastening to decay under the influence and power of Daniel's fourth beast the Roman empire.^d On this subject we are supported by the very learned Mede, who says; "Daniel, viii. 23, In the latter time, or latter end of the kingdom of Grecia, a king of a fierce countenance shall stand up, viz, He who should magnify himself against the prince of the host of heaven, and take away the daily sacrifice &c. As it is in the vision which was foreshewed of him (v. 10, 11.) Where it would be preposterous to think that this latter time, or end of the Greek kingdom, could not be defined otherwise than by the *event* to fall out therein; and not rather conceive that *this determination of time*, being such as might otherwise well enough be known, was therefore intended for a *character* to observe the *event* by. For when was this latter end of the Greeks' kingdom to be taken notice of, but when they should see that kingdom begin to be given unto another people; when the fourth kingdom, the Roman state, should once begin to encroach upon the third? especially when they should see the head province thereof, Greece itself, to come under their obedience; when they should see *this*, then were they to prepare themselves: *for the abomination of desolation was now at the door*. And surely the event was most punctual: for this Roman encroachment, having been some twenty eight years together manifestly attempting and advancing, was at length accomplished when Æmilius the Consul having quite vanquished Perseus, the king of Macedon, all Greece came under the Roman obedience,

^d Just. L. 33. Prid. an. 186.

one hundred and sixty-six years before the birth of Christ: which no sooner was come to pass, but the very self-same year, within less than *three months after*, Antiochus sets up the abomination of desolation in the temple of Jerusalem."^e

The manner in which Antiochus was to obtain his power is thus described (v. 24): " His power shall be mighty, but not by his own power." Now the account, which Prideaux gives of the means, by which Antiochus obtained his kingdom, will well explain this part of the prophecy; for he obtained it not by his own power, but by means of Eumenes and Attalus. He had been an Hostage at Rome, but was returning through Athens, where he " heard of the death of his brother, and the attempt of Heliodorus to usurp the throne; and finding that the usurper had a great party with him, to support him in his pretensions, and that there was another party also forming for Ptolemy, (who made some claim to the succession, in right of his mother, she being sister to the deceased king), and that both of them were agreed not to give unto him, though the next heir, in the absence of Demetrius, the honour of the kingdom, as the holy prophet Daniel foretold, *he applied himself to Eumenes king of Pergamus, and Attalus his brother*; and by flattering speeches, and great promises of friendship, prevailed with them to help him against Heliodorus. And by *their means* that usurper being suppressed he was quietly placed on the throne, and all submitted to him, and permitted him, without any further opposition, peaceably to obtain the kingdom, as had been predicted of him in the same prophecy."

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Nor only does the Prophet describe the means by

^e Mede. p. 654.

^f Prid. an. 175.

which Antiochus should obtain power, but also the *direction* in which afterwards he should extend it: for the little Horn (v. 9.) “ Waxed exceeding great toward the South, and toward the East, and toward the pleasant land.” On the south he attacked Egypt; and, having conquered a considerable part of the kingdom, would have subjected the whole to his sway, had he not been prevented by the Romans. On the East he waxed great in Syria and Babylonia, and towards Armenia and Persia. By the “pleasant land,” is intended Judea;—a land flowing with milk and honey, which is the glory of all lands. Hence says the Psalmist: (*Psalm*, xlviii. 2.) “ *Beautiful* for situation, the joy of the whole earth, is Mount Zion;” And Jeremiah says (iii. 19); “ But I said, how shall I put thee among the Children, and give thee a *pleasant* land, a goodly heritage of the hosts of nations.” * And how powerful Antiochus became in Judea, we shall have abundant opportunity of shewing in the progress of this dissertation; We shall have to shew that by him Judea, the pleasant land, was laid waste and desolate, and its inhabitants subjected to the most grievous and cruel tyranny and oppression.

The persecution which Antiochus inflicted upon the Jews is indeed the chief subject of the vision under consideration: For (v. 12, 23) “an host was given him against the daily sacrifice, *by reason of transgression*, and it cast down the truth to the ground, and it practised and prospered. When *the transgressors are come to the full*, a king of fierce countenance, and understanding dark sentences shall stand up.” Here we have not only a description of the persecution, but also its *cause*; or the reason why God permitted it

* See Pole's Syn. on Dan. C. viii. v. 9.

clearly assigned : its cause was, the *transgressions* of the Jews ; many of whom had fallen into heathenish customs and practices, and hence incurred the displeasure of the Almighty. For at the time when Antiochus had obtained his kingdom, a great apostacy from their law, under the direction of Jason, took, place among the Jews: "For," says Prideaux, "at this time there were many among the Jews fondly inclined to the ways of the *Greeks*; whom he, (Jason) gratified by erecting his gymnasium for them to exercise in ; and the freedom of the city of Antioch being a privilege of great value, while the Syro-Macedonian king flourished there, by his power of granting that freedom, he drew over many more to his bent; so that putting down the governments that were *according* to law, he brought up new customs *against* the law, drawing the chief young men of the Jewish nation into his *Ephebeum*, and there training them up, after the manner of the *Greeks*; and, in all things else, he made as many of them, as he could, *Apostatize*, from the religion and usages of their forefathers, and conform themselves to the manners, customs, and rites of the *heathen*. Whereon the service of the altar became neglected, and the Priests, despising the temple, omitted there the public worship of God, and hastened to partake of the games and divertisements of the gymnasium, and all other the unlawful allowances of that place. And from hence was propagated that iniquity among the Jews, which drew after it, for its punishment, one of the greatest calamities, next the two terrible destructions executed upon their temple and country by Nebuchadnazzar and Titus, that ever befel that nation." ^h Menelaus, who supplanted Jason, " followed him in all his ways of

^h Prid. an. 175.

fraud, wickedness, and apostasy; and outdid him in each of them." ⁱ And of this Menelaus, Josephus says, that he, and "the sons of Tobias withdrew to Antioch, declaring themselves, that they would be no longer tied up to their country's laws, and institutions, but go over to the religion of their king, and the *Greek* way of worship; desiring liberty to erect a kind of Academy or place for public exercises in Jerusalem. Upon the obtaining of this licence, they ordered their bodies so, that even naked, there was no visible difference betwixt them and the Greeks; at the same time, casting off all regard to the Jewish laws and customs, and betaking themselves to the ways and manners of other nations." ^k The Author of the first book of the Maccabees, as if writing a commentary on this part of Daniel's vision, thus describes the beginning of Antiochus' reign: and the wickedness, or "transgression" of the Jews. "And there came out of them" (the Successors to Alexander) "a wicked root,—Antiochus surnamed Epiphanes, son of Antiochus the king, who had been an hostage at Rome, and he reigned in the hundred and thirty and seventh year of the kingdom of the Greeks. In those days went there out of Israel wicked men, who persuaded many, saying, let us go, and make a covenant with *the heathen* that are round about us; for since we departed from them, we have had much sorrow. So this device pleased them well. Then certain of the people were so forward herein, that they went to the king, who gave them licence to do after the ordinances of the heathen: Whereupon they built a place of exercise at Jerusalem, according to the customs of the

ⁱ Prid. an. 172.

Josephus, L. 12, C. 6. L' Estrange's, Translation,

heathen; and made themselves uncircumcised, and *forsook the holy covenant*, and joined themselves to the heathen, *and were sold to do mischief.*"¹ Here then we have a clear description of the little horn in this vision; and of the "transgression" of the Jews, on account of which they suffered so much from that little horn: for, as Daniel says (v. 9), "out of one of them"—Alexander's successors—"came forth a little horn;" so, this author says, "And there came out of them a wicked root, Antiochus surnamed Epiphanes:" And as Daniel says (v. 23), "When the transgressors are come to the full, a king of fierce countenance shall stand up;" so this author informs us, that certain of the Jews *forsook the holy covenant;—became as the heathen;—and were sold to do mischief.*

As this transgression of the Jews was exceedingly great, so a terrible punishment awaited them: And that very Antiochus, whom so many strove to please by heathenish customs, became the scourge and destroyer of their nation. The prophet says of him (v. 23), that he should be a king of fierce countenance, and understanding dark sentences;" by which he describes his *cruelty*, and his *craft*; dispositions of mind, which well fitted him for the work of persecution, and the management of his kingdom. Of his *cruelty* we shall have to state many instances; and of his *craft* he gave great proof in his wars and negotiations respecting Egypt. For when the Rhodian Ambassadors endeavoured, by various arguments, to withdraw him from his attempts upon Egypt, "Antiochus interrupted them and in few words told them, that there was no need of long orations as to this mat-

¹ 1. Maccabees, i. 10- 15.

ter; that the kingdom belonged to Philometor the elder brother, with whom he had some time since made peace, and was now in perfect friendship with him; that if they would recall him from banishment, and again restore him to his crown, the war would be at an end. This he said, not that he intended any such thing, but only out of CRAFT, further to embroil the kingdom for the better obtaining of his own ends upon it." ^m

The character of Antiochus, and the persecutions which he would inflict upon the Jews are thus delineated (vs. 10—12: 24, 25): " And it waxed great, even to the host of heaven ; and it cast down some of the host and of the stars to the ground, and stamped upon them. Yea he magnified himself even to the prince of the host ; and by him the daily sacrifice was taken away, and the place of his sanctuary was cast down. And an host was given him against the daily sacrifice by reason of transgression, and it cast down the truth to the ground ; and it practised and prospered. And his power shall be mighty, but not by his own power : And he shall destroy wonderfully, and shall prosper, and practise, and shall destroy the mighty and the holy people. And through his policy also he shall cause *craft* to prosper in his hand ; and he shall magnify himself in his heart, and by peace shall destroy many : He shall also stand up against the prince of princes : But he shall be broken without hand."

Now Antiochus' persecution of the Jews may be considered as commencing with his *deposition* of Onias their High Priest; " for he magnified himself to," or rather, " against the prince of the host. He shall also

^m Prid. an. 169.

stand up against the prince of princes." The High priest of the Jews was the prince of the Mosaic covenant; and, on account of his Sacerdotal dignity, and of his being in a peculiar manner the representative of God, and the chief of the worship and service of the Almighty, he is styled "the prince of the Host--the prince of Princes." But Onias the high Priest was deposed by Antiochus; for as soon as he was settled in the kingdom, "Jason the brother of Onias, being ambitious of the High Priesthood, by underhand means applied to him for it: and, by an offer of 360 Talents, besides eighty more which he promised on another account, obtained of him that Onias was displaced from the office, and he advanced to it in his stead. And at the same time procured that Onias was called to Antioch, and confined to dwell there." "When Antiochus, called Epiphanes, took the kingdom, Jason the brother of Onias, laboured underhand to be high Priest. Which when the king had granted, and he had gotten into his hand the rule, he forthwith brought his own nation to the Greekish fashion." ^a And not only was the good Onias deposed; but was afterwards assassinated, though not by Antiochus: yet his deposition was certainly a prelude to his death. After the deposition of Onias, the High Priesthood became, as it were, an Article of sale; and Antiochus gave it to him who offered for it the most money.

And as Antiochus deposed the high Priest, so also he persecuted the priests of the lower orders, and destroyed the worship and service of the temple: For "it waxed great even to," or against

^a Prid. an. 175. 2. Mac. iv. 7—10.

"the host of heaven, and it cast down some of the host and of the stars to the ground, and stamped upon them." By stars, in scripture language, is sometimes meant persons of rank and distinction in the church of God, or in a state: Hence in Numbers, xxiv. 17. the Messiah is denominated a *Star*; and in Revelations, xxii. 16, Christ says, "I am . . the bright and morning *Star*:" And also pastors and ministers are called by the same name; for (*Rev. i. 20*) "The seven *Stars* are the angels of the seven churches." Now as the natural heavens are beautified by an host of Stars, and as in these heavens, the Stars fulfil their courses; so also the heaven of the Jewish government, service and temple, was adorned by Elders and Priests, who, in their due rank, order, and courses, performed the duty and service appointed by God in the law. But these Elders and Priests were, many of them, sorely persecuted by Antiochus: For it appears from 1. Maccabees, iv. 38, that the sanctuary was desolate, "and the altar profaned, and the gates burned up, and shrubs growing in the courts as in a forest, or in one of the mountains, *yea, and the Priests' chambers pulled down.*" And when the people of Israel assembled at Maspha to bewail the desolation brought on them by Antiochus, they thus address themselves to God (1. *Mac. iii. 51.*): "Thy sanctuary is trodden down, and profaned; *and thy priests are in heaviness, and brought low.*" Also, "Eleazer, *one of the principal scribes* an aged man, and of a well favoured countenance, was constrained to open his mouth, and to eat swine's flesh. But he, choosing rather to die gloriously, than to live stained with such an abomination, spit it forth, and came of his own accord to the torment."° Of this Eleazer Josephus says, in his

° 2. Maccabees, vi. 18, 19.

discourse of the Maccabees; that he was "a principal man of the city, of the Priests' family, a lawyer by profession, far advanced in years." And thus were some of the host, and of the Stars of the Jewish heaven or Polity, cast down to the ground and stamped upon.

But the persecution of Antiochus against the Jews was to be still more general: For "he shall destroy wonderfully, and shall prosper and practise, and shall destroy the mighty and the holy people. And through his policy also he shall cause craft to prosper in his hand: and he shall magnify himself in his heart; and by peace shall destroy many." (v. 24, 25). Now we cannot explain these words better than by quoting Prideaux; whose account is quite pertinent to the subject. A false rumour having been spread abroad of the death of Antiochus, considerable disturbances in consequence took place at Jerusalem: "And being told that the people of Jerusalem made great rejoicings on the news which came to them of his death, he was very much provoked thereat, and therefore in a great rage, laying siege to Jerusalem, and taking the city by force, he slew of the inhabitants, *in three days time, forty thousand persons*, and having taken as many more captives, sold them for slaves to the neighbouring nations." "Antiochus returning out of Egypt in great wrath and indignation, because of the baffle which he had there met with from the Romans of all his designs upon that country, he vented it all upon the Jews, who had no way offended him. For on his marching back through Palestine, he detached off from his army twenty-two thousand men, under the command of Apollonius, who was over the tribute,

and sent them to Jerusalem to destroy the place." And now, as was predicted, by "peace," or by craft and subtlety, did he destroy many: For "it was just two years after Antiochus had taken Jerusalem, that Apollonius came thither with his army. On his first arrival he carried himself *peaceably*, concealing his purpose, and forbearing all hostilities till the next sabbath; but then, when the people were all assembled together in their synagogues for the celebrating of the religious duties of the day, thinking this the properest time for the executing of his bloody commission, he let loose all his forces upon them, with command to slay all the men, and take captive the women, and children, to sell them for slaves; which they executed with the utmost rigour and cruelty, slaying all the men they could light on, without shewing mercy to any, and filling the streets with their blood. After this, having spoiled the city of all its riches, they set it on fire in several places, demolished the houses, and pulled down the walls, round about it, and then, with the ruins of the demolished city, built a strong fortress on the top of an eminence in the city of David, which was over against the temple; and overlooked and commanded the same, and there placed a strong garrison, and making it a place of arms against the whole nation of the Jews, stored it with all manner of provisions of war, and there also they laid up the spoils which they had taken in the sacking of the city. And from this fortress by the advantage of its situation, the garrison Soldiers, fell on all those that went up thither to worship, and shed their blood on every side of the sanctuary, and defiled it with all manner of pollutions, so that from this time the temple became deserted, and the daily sacrifices omitted, and none of the true servants of God

durst any more go up thither to worship." ^p And indeed great was the hatred which Antiochus entertained against the Jews; "his design being to cut off all of them wherever they were within his reach that would not conform to his decree by apostatizing from their God and his law, that so he might, as far as in him lay, extinguish both the Jewish religion, and the Jewish name and nation at the same time." ^q

The mighty and the holy people, i. e. the worshippers of the true God, were grievously destroyed by him; For "they shed innocent blood on every side of the Sanctuary, and defiled it. Insomuch that the inhabitants of Jerusalem fled because of them; whereupon the city was made an habitation of strangers, and became strange to those that were born in her, and her own children left her." "They put to death certain women that had caused their children to be circumcised; and they hanged the infants about their necks, and rifled their houses, and slew them that had circumcised them." "Thus there was killing of young and old, making away of men, women and children, slaying of virgins and infants." "And others that had run together into caves near by to keep the Sabbath day secretly, being discovered to Philip, were all burnt together, because they made a conscience to help themselves for the honour of the most sacred day." "It came to pass also that seven brethren, with their mother, were taken and compelled by the king against the law to taste swine's flesh, and were tormented with scourges and whips." ^r

^p Prid. an. 170. 168.

^q Prid. an. 168.

^r 1. Maccabees, i. 37—40, 60, 61. 2. Maccabees, vi. 11. vii. 1.

But the rage of Antiochus did not vent itself only upon the "holy people," and their Priests, but also against their Sanctuary and worship: For "by him the daily sacrifice was taken away, and the place of his Sanctuary was cast down, and it cast down the truth to the ground." Now how exactly all this was fulfilled, let the historian teach us: For Antiochus "impiously forced himself into the temple, and entered into the inner and most sacred recesses of it; polluting by his presence, both the holy place and also the holy of holies. . . And to offer the greater indignity to this sacred place, and to affront in the highest manner, he was able, the religion whereby God was worshipped in it, he sacrificed a great Sow upon the Altar of burnt offerings; and broth being, by his command, made with some part of the flesh thereof boiled in it, he caused it to be sprinkled all over the temple for the utmost defiling of it. And after this, having sacrilegiously plundered it, by taking thence the altar of incense, the shew bread table, the candlestick of seven branches, that stood in the holy place, which were all of gold, and several other golden vessels, utensils, and donatives of former kings, to the value of eighteen hundred talents of gold, and made the like plunder in the city, he returned to Antioch." About two years after this pollution and plunder of the temple, Antiochus issued a decree, "that all nations within his dominions, leaving their former rites and usages, should conform to the religion of the king, and worship the same Gods, and in the same manner as he did; which although couched in general terms, was levelled mainly against the Jews, that thereby an handle might be afforded for the further oppressing of that people, and it seems for no other end to have been extended to all the nations of the Syrian empire,

but that thereby it might reach all of the Jewish worship, wherever they were dispersed among them. The overseer, who was sent to see this decree of the king's executed in Judea and Samaria, was one Athenæus, an old man; who, being well versed in all the rites of the Grecian idolatry, was thought a very proper person to initiate those people into the observance of them. On his coming to Jerusalem, and there executing his commission, all sacrifices to the God of Israel were made to cease; all the observances of the Jewish religion were suppressed; the temple itself was polluted, and made unfit for God's worship; their Sabbaths, and festivals were profaned; their children forbidden to be circumcised; and their law, wherever it could be found, was taken away or destroyed; and the ordinances which God commanded them were wholly suppressed throughout the land; and every one was put to death that was discovered in any of these particulars to have acted against what the king had decreed. . . Having thus expelled the Jewish worship out of the temple, they introduced thither, the heathen in its stead; and, consecrating it to the chief of their false Gods, called it the temple of Jupiter Olympius; and, having erected his image upon one part of the altar of Holocaust that stood in the inner court of the temple, upon another part just before that image, they built another lesser altar, whereon they sacrificed to him." * Thus by Antiochus, "the daily sacrifice was taken away; and the place of his (*God's*) sanctuary was cast down." And he "cast down the truth to the ground," by abolishing the *true* form of worship, and destroying the *true law* of the God of *Truth*; "for when they had rent in pieces

* Prid. an. 170. 168.

the books of the law which they found, they burnt them with fire. And wheresoever was found, with any, the book of the testament, or if any consented to the law, the king's commandment was, that they should put him to death." "When Antiochus issued out his decree for the suppressing of the Jewish religion, one main instruction given his agents for this purpose was every where to take away and suppress the *law* of Moses. For that being the rule of their religion, were that taken away, he thought the religion itself must necessarily cease with it. And therefore orders were issued out, commanding all that had any copies of the law, to deliver them up; and the punishment of death was severely inflicted upon all who were afterwards found retaining any of them. . . And when they had gotten them, some they destroyed; and the others, which they thought to preserve, they polluted by painting on them the pictures of their Gods, that so they might no more be of use to any true Israelite."† And thus by Antiochus was the daily sacrifice taken away; the Sanctuary polluted; and the truth cast down to the ground.

But heavy and severe as was this persecution, yet, at the appointed time, it was to terminate: For, says the Prophet (v. 13. 14); "Then I heard one Saint speaking; and another said unto that certain Saint which spake, How long *shall* be the vision concerning the daily sacrifice, and the transgression of desolation, to give both the Sanctuary and the Host to be trodden under foot. And he said unto me unto two thousand and three hundred days; then shall the sanctuary be cleansed."

Upon this part of the prophecy there is considerable

† 1. Maccabees, i. 56. 57. Prid. an. 167.

difference among the learned; and much difficulty has occurred in making the two thousand three hundred days agree with the time of this persecution. But, without entering into these differences, we shall endeavour to give that explanation which will be adequate to the subject. Now by the two thousand and three hundred days we understand, *natural days*, not prophetic days; because the phrase is literally, *unto two thousand and three hundred evenings mornings*: And this determines and confines the meaning to natural days: in the same way, as in the first of Genesis where we read, that the *evening and the morning* were the first, or second day: &c. For both in Daniel, and in the first of Genesis, the *Hebrew* for evening and morning is the same. Besides, the two thousand and three hundred days are not to be confined to the time during which the daily sacrifice was taken away; they embrace a greater extent of time, and refer not only to the days of violent persecution, but to the time preceding it, when the transgressors were come to the full. Hence, if we put out the words in Italics in the thirteenth verse, which are not in the Hebrew, it will run thus: "How long the vision, the daily, and the transgression of desolation, to give both the sanctuary and the host to be trodden under foot." So that it is plain the two thousand and three hundred days refer not only to the time in which the daily sacrifice was taken away, but also to the time in which (v. 23) it is said, "the transgressors are come to the full;" for they are peculiarly comprehended within the *vision*. We have only then to date *backward* from the time in which the Sanctuary was cleansed, and we shall arrive at the period from which to date the two thousand and three hundred days. Now the Sanctuary was purified in the year before Christ 165, on the "twenty fifth day of their (the Jews) ninth

month called Cisleu, which fell about the time of the winter Solstice." ^u And the two thousand and three hundred days make six years and rather more than a quarter; by computing backwards, we arrive at the year B. C. 171: when Menelaus, who was then High Priest, plundered the temple of Jerusalem, by means of his deputy Lysimachus, of many golden vessels; and caused Onias, who had formerly been High Priest, to be assassinated.

The difficulty, in explaining this part of the prophecy, seems to have arisen from the supposition, that the two thousand and three hundred days must be computed from the time when Antiochus' persecution of the Jews was at the *height*; or, in other words, from the time when the daily sacrifice was taken away. But, as Mr. Mede says, "the beginning of that two thousand and three hundred *evenings and mornings*, or six years and somewhat more than a quarter, which that calamity was to continue, from the beginning thereof until the temple should again be cleansed (Dan. viii. 13, 14), was not to be reckoned from the *height* thereof, *when the daily sacrifice should be taken away*, but from the *beginning* of the transgression which occasioned this desolation." ^w

But at the end of the two thousand and three hundred days the sanctuary was cleansed: For when Judas Maccabæus had discomfited the enemies of Israel, he said; "Let us go up to cleanse and dedicate the Sanctuary. Upon this all the Host assembled themselves together, and went up into Mount Sion. So he (Judas) chose priests of blameless conversation, such as had pleasure in the law; who *cleansed the Sanctuary*, and bare out the defiled stones into an

^u Prid. an. 165.

^w Mede. p. 659.

unclean place. Then they took whole stones according to the law, and built a new Altar according to the former, and made up the sanctuary, and the things that were within the temple, and hallowed the court. Now on the five and twentieth day of the ninth month which is called the month Casleu, in the hundred forty and eighth year, they rose up betimes in the morning, and offered sacrifice according to the law upon the new altar of burnt offerings which they had made. Look at what time and what day the heathen had profaned it, even in that was it dedicated, with songs, and citherns, and harps, and cymbals." *

And, as Antiochus had been a cruel persecutor of the worshippers of the true God, so, he himself was to feel the vengeance due to his crimes: "He, (v. 25.) shall be broken without hand."

Now we have only to refer to the account of Antiochus' death, as given in the books of the Maccabees, or by Josephus, or Prideaux, and we shall see how exactly this was fulfilled: We shall see that this little Horn was broken and destroyed, not in battle, nor by the sword; but by the just judgment of God. For when Antiochus heard of the great success obtained by the Jews over his armies, and of the restoration of their Sanctuary and worship, he was filled with the utmost rage against them, and determined to go in person and make Jerusalem "a common burying place of the Jews. But the Lord Almighty, the God of Israel, smote him with an incurable, and invisible plague: for, a pain of the bowels that was remediless came upon him, and sore torments of the inner parts. So that the worms rose up out of the body of this wicked man, and while he lived in sorrow and pain,

* 1. Maccabees, iv. 36—54. Prid. an. 165.

his flesh fell away, and the filthiness of his smell was noisome to all his army. Thus the murderer and blasphemer having suffered most grievously, as he entreated other men, so died he a miserable death in a strange country in the mountains." ^y To this we may add the account which Prideaux gives of his death, and which, with his wonted diligence and learning, he has collected from different sources. "In his body a filthy ulcer broke out in his secret parts, wherein were bred an innumerable quantity of vermin, continually flowing from it, and such a stench proceeded from the same, as neither those that attended him, nor he himself could well bear; and in this condition he lay languishing and rotting till he died. And all this while the torments of his mind were as great as the torments of his body, caused by the reflections which he made on his former actions. Polybius tells us of this as well as Josephus. And adds thereto that it grew so far upon him, as to come to a constant delirium, or state of madness, by reason of several spectres and apparitions of evil Spirits, which he imagined were continually about him, reproaching and stinging his conscience with accusations of his past evil deeds, which he had been guilty of. . . And I cannot forbear here remarking, that most of the great Persecutors have died the like death, by being smitten of God in the like manner in the secret parts. Thus died Herod, the great Persecutor of Christ and the infants at Bethlehem; and thus died Galerius Maximianus, the author and the great Prosecutor of the tenth and greatest persecution against the primitive Christians; and thus also died Philip the second king of Spain, as infamous for the cruelty of his persecutions and the numbers destroyed by it, as any of the other three." ^z

^y 2. Maccabees, ix. Prid. an. 164.

^z Prid. an. 164

We have now traced the little Horn, which came forth out of one of the four Horns or kingdoms into which Alexander's empire was broken, from its rise to its fall; and we have seen that "the vision of the evening and the morning, which was told, is true" (v. 26). We have seen Antiochus, the little Horn intended, to defile God's Sanctuary and persecute his people: But at the expiration of the two thousand and three hundred days, or evenings and mornings, the Sanctuary is cleansed; and afterwards the little horn is broken without hand. And, in his end, all the enemies of the true worshippers of the true God, may read their own danger. And should they in this life escape punishment, yet God will eventually avenge his own elect, though he bear long with them. For, as the blood of his Saints is right dear in his sight, so, at the last day, he will avenge all their wrongs upon their persecutors. Nor should this subject be neglected by the Rulers of empires; for if they persecute the church of God, they will most certainly sow to themselves destruction. That empire will never be consolidated, whose Rulers shed the blood of the Saints: that dynasty will fall into decay and ruin, which scoffs at piety and persecutes the just.

"Be wise now, therefore, O ye kings, be instructed ye judges of the earth. Serve the Lord with fear, and rejoice with trembling. Kiss the Son lest he be angry, and ye perish from the way, when his wrath is kindled but a little. Blessed are all they that put their trust in him."

Dissertation

12.

CHAPTER IX.

ONE of the characteristics of a good man is his patriotism: He feels anxious for the welfare of his own country; and rejoices at the prosperity, and grieves at the misfortunes of his fellow citizens. His warmest affection, as a man, is fixed upon his family, his home, and his country; whilst he feels for men of other nations sentiments of kindness and good will. Hence, though Daniel himself enjoyed distinction, honour, and power, yet he felt for his captive countrymen; and therefore set himself to intercede with God for their deliverance: For says he, (v. 3); "I set my face unto the Lord God, to seek by prayer and supplications, with fasting, and sackcloth, and ashes."

By means of the prophecies of Jeremiah, Daniel had ascertained the number of years during which the Babylonian captivity should continue: For he (v. 2) "Understood by books, the number of the years, whereof the word of the Lord came to Jeremiah the prophet, that he would accomplish seventy years in

the desolations of Jerusalem." And by computation he finds, that the time is near for the restoration of the Jews to their city, temple, and country. For, though God gave them up into the hands of their enemies, yet he remembered mercy in his anger: for thus saith Jeremiah (xxv. 11); " And this whole land shall be a desolation and an astonishment; and these nations shall serve the king of Babylon *seventy years*." And again (c. xxix. 10); " For thus saith the Lord, that after *seventy years* be accomplished at Babylon, I will visit you, and perform my good word toward you, in causing you to return to this place."

But Daniel is not content with merely studying the prophecies of Jeremiah: He prays for his city and people, and begs of God to look in mercy upon their desolation, and to fulfil his promise. He says (vs. 16—18), " O Lord according to all thy righteousness, I beseech thee let thine anger and thy fury be turned away from thy city Jerusalem, thy holy mountain; because for our sins, and for the iniquities of our fathers, Jerusalem and thy people are become a reproach to all that are about us. Now therefore, O our God, hear the prayer of thy servant and his supplications, and cause thy face to shine upon thy sanctuary, that is desolate, for the Lord's sake. O my God, incline thine ear, and hear, open thine eyes and behold our desolations, and the city which is called by thy name: For we do not present our supplications before thee for our righteousnesses, but for thy great mercies. " Nor does he pray and intercede in vain; for his supplications are heard, and the Angel Gabriel is sent to comfort and instruct him, and to shew him many great and important events, which in after times should befall the Jews: For (vs. 22—27) Gabriel informed him and talked with him, "and said, O Daniel, I am now

come forth to give thee skill, and understanding. Seventy weeks are determined upon thy people and upon thy holy city, to finish the transgression, and to make an end of sins, and to make reconciliation for iniquity, and to bring in everlasting righteousness, and to seal up the vision and prophecy, and to anoint the most holy. Know, therefore, and understand, that from the going forth of the commandment to restore and to build Jerusalem unto the Messiah the prince, shall be seven weeks, and threescore and two weeks. The street shall be built again and the wall, even in troublous times. And after threescore and two weeks shall Messiah be cut off, but not for himself. And the people of the prince that shall come shall destroy the city and the sanctuary: And the end thereof shall be with a flood, and unto the end of the war desolations are determined. And he shall confirm the covenant with many for one week: And, in the midst of the week, he shall cause the sacrifice and the oblation to cease; and for the overspreading of abominations he shall make it desolate, even until the consummation, and that determined shall be poured upon the desolate."

Now we shall consider this remarkable prediction in the following order: first, The time—seventy weeks;—secondly, The Messiah;—and, thirdly, the evils which, in after times, should befall the Jews.

1. In discussing the time—seventy weeks—a question immediately arises, what *kind* of weeks are here intended? And our answer is, that weeks of years are intended; in which weeks, every day stands for a year: So that the seventy weeks signify four hundred and ninety years. Nor is this unusual in the scriptures; for, on the subject of the jubilee, (*Lev. xxv.*

3.) this direction is given: "And thou shalt number seven sabbaths of years unto thee, seven times seven years; and the space of the seven sabbaths of years shall be unto thee forty and nine years." And in (*Numbers*, xiv. 34) the mode of accounting a day for a year is employed: "After the number of the days in which ye searched the land, even forty days (*each day for a year*) shall ye bear your iniquities, even forty years." And the same method of computing is employed, in *Ezekiel*, (iv. 6.); "Thou shalt bear the iniquity of the house of Judah forty days: I have appointed thee *each day for a year*." "Among the Jews," says Prideaux, "as there were sabbatical days, whereby their days were divided into weeks of days, so there were sabbatical years, whereby their years were divided into weeks of years; and this last sort of weeks is that which is here mentioned; so that every one of the weeks of this prophecy contains seven years; and the whole number of seventy weeks contain four hundred and ninety years; at the end whereof this determined time expired: After which the Jews were no more to be the peculiar people of God, nor Jerusalem his holy city; because then the œconomy which he had established among them was to cease, and the worship which he had appointed at Jerusalem was wholly to be abolished." * To this passage from Prideaux we may add one from Bishop Chandler, on this prophecy: "There are but two sorts of weeks in Scripture; weeks of days, and weeks of years. Daniel, when he speaks of the ordinary weeks, calls them weeks of days (x. 3) as if he had a mind it should be observed, where he makes no such distinction in his prophecy,

* Prid. v. 1. p. 263.

he is to be understood of weeks of years... These seventy weeks will be easily found not to consist of weeks of days; for all put together make but one year four months, odd days; a space of time too short to crowd so many various events into as are here specified; nor can any such time be assigned between the two captivities wherein such like events did happen. Taking them then for sabbatical weeks, and they amount in the whole to four hundred and ninety years. Or leave out the seventieth week, and the sixty nine weeks will equal four hundred and eighty three years, about which time they were to look for Messiah, the prince, supposing they knew where truly to begin the reckoning. And for this also Daniel gave them direction: ... Count, saith he, from the going forth of the decree to build Jerusalem again, unto Messiah the prince, seven weeks, and threescore and two weeks, i. e. four hundred and eighty three years, and after the last sixty two weeks, the Messiah shall be cut off; and after that the city and temple shall be razed; he is one and the same person, Messiah the prince, that shall come and that shall be cut off, and both shall preceed the destruction of that people." ^b

The kind of weeks intended by the prophet being then weeks of years, in which each day stands for a year, the next question is, when do these weeks *begin* and *end*? Upon this subject there is a great variety of opinion among the learned: But, without entering into the discussion of this variety, we shall state what appears best to explain the prophecy. Now the seventy weeks, or four hundred and ninety years, are to end with the death of Christ, who is called by Daniel, the Messiah, or the Anointed. For, according to

^b Chandler's def. of Christ, p. 136.

v. 24. "Seventy weeks are determined upon thy people and upon thy holy city;" or, "Seventy weeks are *cut out* upon thy people and upon thy holy city," alluding to the practice among the Hebrews, of numbering, by *cutting* notches: But the *accomplishment* of the vision is *united* with "making reconciliation for iniquity;" or, as Sir. I. Newton translates the words, "to expiate iniquity," which was done by Christ's death; and therefore the *accomplishment* of the vision and the *death* of Christ must be considered as meeting at the same time. For in this seventy weeks, sin was to be expiated; everlasting righteousness to be brought in; the vision and prophecy, or prophet, were to be sealed, or *consummated*; and the most holy to be anointed. "For, by joining the accomplishment of the vision with the expiation of sins, the four hundred and ninety years are ended with the death of Christ. Now the dispersed Jews became a people and city when they first returned into a polity or body politick; and this was in the seventh year of Artaxerxes Longimanus, when Ezra returned with a body of Jews from captivity, and revived the Jewish worship; and by the king's commission created Magistrates in all the land, to judge and govern the people according to the laws of God and the king (*Ezra*, vii. 25). There were but two returns from captivity, Zerubbabel's, and Ezra's: in Zerubbabel's they had only commission to build the temple; in Ezra's they first became a polity or city, by a government of their own. Now the years of this Artaxerxes began about two or three months after the summer solstice, and his seventh year fell in with the third year of the eightieth Olympiad; And the latter part thereof, wherein Ezra went up to Jerusalem, was in the year of the Julian Period

four thousand two hundred and fifty-seven: Count the time from thence to the death of Christ, and you will find it just four hundred and ninety years." ^c

The Jews themselves indeed knew well how to interpret this prophecy; for, "this saying is still extant, in the Talmud, as the tradition of former times,—*In Daniel is delivered to us, the end of the Messias*,—i. e. the *term* wherein he ought to come, as Jarchi explains it. And another Jew of high antiquity, R. Berachia, observed, that the end or period of the future redemption, was revealed to two men, Jacob and Daniel. But higher than both is the age of R. Nehumias, for he lived fifty years before Jesus Christ, yet then he declared, as he is cited by Grotius, that the time fixed by Daniel, for the Messias, could not go beyond those fifty years." ^d

But we may make the period of the seventy weeks, or four hundred and ninety years, terminate still more exactly, by computing backwards, not merely from the *year* in which Christ died, but with Prideaux, from the *Month*. Now the death of Christ was at the time of the Passover, which was always celebrated in the middle of the Month Nisan. And from that time backwards, till the Month Nisan, when Ezra (*Ez. vii. 9*) "began to go up from Babylon," is just four hundred and ninety years. For having fixed the end of the four hundred and ninety years at the *death* of Christ, "it doth necessarily determine us where to place the beginning of them; that is, four hundred and ninety years before. And, therefore, the death of Christ, as most learned men agree, falling in the

^c Sir, I. Newton's obs. p. 130—1.

^d Chandler's def. p. 141.

year of the Julian period four thousand seven hundred and forty-six, and in the Jewish month Nisan; if we reckon four hundred and ninety years backward, this will lead us up to the month Nisan, in the year of the Julian period four thousand two hundred and fifty-six, which was the very year and month, in which Ezra had his commission from Artaxerxes Longimanus, king of Persia, for his return to Jerusalem, there to restore the church and state of the Jews. For that year of the Julian period, according to Ptolemy's canon, was the seventh year of that king's reign, in which the scriptures tell us his commission was granted. The beginning therefore of the seventy weeks, or four hundred and ninety years of this prophecy, was in the Month Nisan of the *Jewish* year, in the seventh year of Artaxerxes Longimanus king of Persia, and in the four thousand two hundred and fifty-sixth year of the Julian period, when Ezra had his commission; and the end of them fell in the very same month of Nisan, in the four thousand seven hundred and forty-sixth year of the Julian period, in which very year and very month Christ our Lord suffered for us, and thereby completed the whole work of our salvation; there being just seventy weeks of years, or four hundred and ninety years from the one to the other." *

Sir I. Newton thinks that the *seven* weeks, mentioned in verse twenty-fifth, are to be referred to Christ's *second* coming, and are, therefore, in some degree mysterious: But of this there seems to be no need; as the *seven* weeks, and the *threescore and two* weeks are all but parts of the *seventy* weeks. It might also be

* Prid. v. 1. p. 265.

mentioned, that Mr. Mede makes the seventy weeks to *end* in the destruction of Jerusalem by the Romans under Titus; dating them from the third, or rather the sixth year of Darius Nothus. But we prefer making them end at the *death* of Christ; for since at the end of these four hundred and ninety years, an *end* was to be made of sins, iniquity was to be expiated, and the vision and prophecy, or rather prophet, were to be consummated; so Christ was the *END* of the law for righteousness to every one that believeth. By his death and sacrifice the Jewish dispensation received its accomplishment, and all its types and shadows were fulfilled. As it was intended to subsist for a limited time only; so at his death everlasting righteousness was brought in by the superior dispensation of the Gospel. Moreover, the destruction of the Jewish state and polity was to *follow*, or rather we may say, was to be a consequence of Christ's death: It was to take place as a punishment for that horrible crime of which the Jews were guilty, in putting the Messiah to the death of the cross. And hence, according to our Prophet, (vs. 25, 26.) *After seven weeks and threescore and two weeks, i. e. in the seventieth week, Messiah was to be cut off by death: And then was to succeed the destruction of Jerusalem; for "the people of the prince that shall come, shall destroy the city and the sanctuary; and the end thereof shall be with a flood."* This also accords with the imprecation of the Jews upon themselves, when they cried out, his blood be upon us and our children: For his blood was upon them, and the wrath of God came upon them to the uttermost in the entire overthrow of their temple, city, and state.

Before closing this part of our subject, we would notice the difficulty with which Jerusalem should be

rebuilt, during the former part of the seventy weeks, or four hundred and ninety years: And we mention this here, because of its being one of those things which should occur during the seventy weeks. "Know, therefore, (v. 25) and understand that from the going forth of the commandment to restore and to build Jerusalem, unto the Messiah the prince, shall be seven weeks and threescore and two weeks. *The street shall be built again and the wall, even in troublous times.*"

And with what difficulty and trouble the city was restored, both Nehemiah and Josephus will tell us. For when Nehemiah, by the king's commission, exerted himself for the restoration of the city, then were Sanballat the Horonite, and Tobiah the servant the Ammonite grieved exceedingly, "that there was come a man to seek the welfare of the children of Israel . . . Then said I unto them,—(the Rulers of the Jews,)—Ye see the distress that we are in, how Jerusalem lieth waste, and the gates thereof are burned with fire. Come and let us build up the wall of Jerusalem, that we be no more a reproach. . . But when Sanballat the Horonite, and Tobiah the servant the Ammonite, and Geshem the Arabian, heard it, they laughed us to scorn, and despised us, and said, What is this thing that ye do? will ye rebel against the king? . . . But it came to pass that, when Sanballat heard that we builded the wall, he was wroth, and took great indignation, and mocked the Jews. . . But it came to pass that, when Sanballat and Tobiah, and the Arabians, and the Ammonites, and the Ashdodites, heard that the walls of Jerusalem were made up, and that the breaches began to be stopped, then they were very wroth, and conspired all of them together to come and to fight against Jerusalem, and to hinder it. . .

Therefore set I in the lower places behind the wall, and on the higher places, I even set the people after their families with their swords, their spears, and their bows... They which builded on the wall, and they that bare burdens, with those that laded, every one with one of his hands wrought in the work, and with the other hand held a weapon. For the builders every one had his sword girded by his side, and so builded: And he that sounded the trumpet was by me." And Josephus tells us, that when the enterprize of rebuilding the walls by Nehemiah was told to the Ammonites, the Moabites, the Samaritans, and the Cœle-Syrians, they were "all raging mad at it, and left nothing unattempted, either by force or by treachery, to disappoint it. They lay in wait for the Jews up and down in ambushes, and destroyed a great many of them by surprise. They kept Bravoes in pay, to attempt upon the person of Nehemiah himself... So he gave orders for the future, that all the carpenters, masons, and other labourers, should work with their swords by their sides, and their bucklers within distance of having them ready upon occasion."† But troublous as were these times, still the work was carried on, and the walls were in due time rebuilt. And great as were the obstacles against which the Jews had to contend, still they were all eventually overcome; and their city, temple, and worship were restored.

II. In the order of this dissertation we proceed now to consider the *Messiah* the prince, both as to what he should suffer, and what he should do.

As to the word *Messiah*, Mr. Leigh says, "Messias doth solely and singularly betoken Christ, as it is

† Nehemiah. C. 2. 4. L'Estrange's Jos, p. 268.

interpreted, (*John*, i. 41. and iv. 25.). For though the word, *Mashiach* in Hebrew, in the Scripture signifieth any anointed one whatsoever; yet in this Greek form *Messias*, it never signifieth but only Christ. Nor is the Hebrew word used in Hebrew authors, but in the same sense: and so it is used infinitely among them: sometimes set single without any other addition, and very often with this addition, *Melech Hamashiach*, the king *Messias*. In this propriety the word is used, (*Daniel*, ix. 25, 26.). And so it was confessed by the ancient Jews." ^g To this we may add a passage from the Most learned, profound, and accurate Bishop Pearson: "We find in the Scriptures two several names, *Messias* and *Christ*, but both of the same signification; as appeareth by the speech of the woman of Samaria, I know that *Messias* cometh, which is called *Christ*; and more plainly, by what Andrew spake unto his brother Simon, We have found the *Messias*, which is, being interpreted, the *Christ*. *Messias* in the Hebrew tongue; *Christ* in the Greek. *Messias*, the language of Andrew and the woman of Samaria, who spake in Syriack; *Christ*, the interpretation of St. John, who wrote his Gospel in the Greek, as the most general language in those days; and the signification of them both is *the Anointed*." ^h And hence also the Septuagint translates the word *Messiah* in *Daniel*, (ix. 25,) by the word *Christ*: By which we have increased proof, that the *Messiah* intended by *Daniel* was none other, than *Jesus* the Saviour of the world.

Even when *Jerusalem* was destroyed by *Titus*, the Jews considered the *Messias*, mentioned by *Daniel*, as the true and proper one; though they applied the

^g Leigh's Crit. Sac. p. 136.

^h Pearson on the Creed, p. 79. Ed. 8.

prediction improperly. "Thus Menasse Ben Israël, divides the Jews of those times into two opinions. *They* that believed, the city was doomed to Roman vengeance, submitted to the general, as thinking, he must be that prince (Messias) who was to come, before their final destruction. And *They* that thought, the Messias would come, before the end of the seventy weeks, comforted themselves that their city and temple could not be destroyed before he came, and therefore expected salvation to the last hour. Both sides took Daniel to be with them: We need not a fuller proof that they understood Daniel did, in this place, prophecy of the Messias... Daniel could mean no other, when among the other great works he ascribed to the Messias, he mentioned this, that *he should seal up vision and prophecy*. Things that are fulfilled and perfected, are wont to be sealed up; and prophecy and vision are therefore said here to be sealed, because they shall receive their complement in him. It is thus the Jews commonly interpret the words, *all the prophecies shall be fulfilled at the coming of the Messias*. We have then Daniel's own word for it, in his prophecy, that the prophets of old spoke of the Messias. And it will not be pretended by any Jew, that the prophets of old spoke of any other Messias than one, the true Messias of the lineage of David." ¹

The Messiah intended by Daniel was evidently to be a *suffering* Messiah; for he was (v. 26) *to be cut off*: that is, shall be slain, or put to death, by the sentence of a judge. But he was to be cut off for others, not for himself: And this agrees exactly with what Isaiah, long before the times of Daniel, had predicted of him. "He was cut off out of the land of the living:

¹ Chand's. def. p. 146, 149.

for the transgression of my people was he stricken." (*Isaiah*, liii. 8). And this also accords with the account, which is given in the New Testament of the end and design of Christ's death: "How that Christ died for our sins according to the Scriptures... For Christ also hath once suffered for sins, the just for the unjust, that he might bring us to God... Hereby perceive we the love of God, because he laid down his life for us." ^k

The words, in the common translation, "*But not for himself*," may be rendered; "*And it shall not be his*:" i. e. According to Sir. I. Newton, Jerusalem, or the people of the Jews shall no longer be his people. As they cut him off, and rejected him from being their Prince; so would he reject them as his own peculiar nation. In this point of view we have then a prediction of the rejection of the Jews, and an indirect intimation of the calling in of the Gentiles; and it answers to our Lord's words, (*Mat.* xxi. 43) "There fore say I unto you, The kingdom of God shall be taken from you, and given to a nation bringing forth the fruits thereof." So that whether we take the words—"But not for himself"—as referring to the death of Christ, as an atonement for the sins of mankind, or as relating to the rejection of the Jews because of their unbelief towards him; still in either sense they were fulfilled: For not only did Christ taste of death for every man; but the Jews have been given up, for a season, to the ignorance of their mind, and to the hardness of their heart; "According as it is written, God hath given them the spirit of slumber; eyes that they should not see; and ears that they should not hear; unto this day" (*Rom.* xi. 8).

^k 1. Cor. xv. 3. 1. Peter, iii. 18. 1. John, iii. 16.

But the Messiah was not only to suffer, he was also to perfect many great and important matters: Now these matters are particularly enumerated in the twenty-fourth verse, which may be considered as an epitome of the Gospel. "Seventy weeks are determined upon thy people and upon thy holy city, to finish the transgression, and to make an end of sins, and to make reconciliation for iniquity, and to bring in everlasting righteousness, and to seal up the vision and prophecy, and to anoint the most holy." For is not this similar to what the angel of the Lord said to Joseph respecting Jesus? "Thou shalt call his name *Jesus: for he shall save his people from their sins.*" It corresponds with what St. Paul says of Christ: "Who gave himself for us, that he might redeem us from all iniquity, and purify unto himself a peculiar people, zealous of good works." And is the same as when St John says, "For this purpose the son of God was manifested that he might destroy the works of the devil." ¹ "To finish the transgression and to make an end of sins," is the same as (*Col. ii. 13, 14.*); "And you being dead in your sins and the uncircumcision of your flesh hath he quickened together with him, having forgiven you all trespasses; blotting out the hand-writing of ordinances that was against us, which was contrary to us; and took it out of the way, nailing it to his cross."

"To make reconciliation for iniquity," or to expiate sin; what is this, but the same as? "All things are of God, who hath reconciled us to himself by Jesus Christ... God was in Christ reconciling the world unto himself, not imputing their trespasses unto them ... And you that were some time alienated

¹ Mat. i. 21. Tit. ii. 14. 1 John, iii. 8.

and enemies in your mind by wicked works, yet now hath he *reconciled*, in the body of his flesh through death, to present you holy and unblameable and un-reproveable in his sight." Was the Messiah of Daniel, "to bring in everlasting righteousness?" This was effected by Christ: "For he hath made him to be sin for us who knew no sin, that we might be made the *righteousness of God* in him... Therefore, as by the offence of one, judgment came upon all men to condemnation, even so by the *righteousness of one* the free gift came upon all men unto justification of life... But of him are ye in Christ Jesus, who of God is made unto us, wisdom, and righteousness, and sanctification, and redemption... And this is his name whereby he shall be called, THE LORD OUR RIGHT-EOUSNESS.^m And as to the sealing up the vision and prophecy, what can this intend, but that the Jewish dispensation should end, and the Gospel one begin in Christ? For the Mosaick dispensation, or the Jewish, was but the shadow of good things to come; but the body is of Christ: the law of Moses was to continue till the seed, Christ should come, of whose kingdom there should be no end. For thus says Christ to his disciples, "These are the words which I spake unto you while I was yet with you, that all things must be fulfilled which were written in the law of Moses, and in the prophets, and in the Psalms, concerning me... Thus it is written, and thus it behoved Christ to suffer, and to rise from the dead the third day" (*Luke*, xxiv 44, 46). And thus reasons Peter (*Acts*, iii. 22, 23); "For Moses truly said unto the Fathers, a prophet shall the Lord your God raise up unto you of your brethren, like unto me; HIM shall ye hear in

^m 2. Cor. v. 18, 19. Col. i. 21, 22. 2. Cor. v. 21. Rom. v. 18. 1 Cor. i. 30. Jer. xxiii. 6.

all things whatsoever He shall say unto you. And it shall come to pass that every soul which will not hear that prophet shall be destroyed from among the people."

At the end of the seventy weeks also the Most Holy was to be anointed: This shews how that Jesus was to be anointed, as we know he was, with the Holy Ghost, for the great work of effecting the redemption of mankind. For, "unto the Son, he saith, thy throne, O God, is forever and ever; a sceptre of righteousness is the sceptre of thy kingdom. Thou hast loved righteousness and hated iniquity: therefore God, even thy God hath *anointed* thee with the oil of gladness above thy fellows... The Spirit of the Lord, (says Christ) is upon me, because he hath *anointed* me to preach the Gospel to the poor... How God *anointed* (says Peter) Jesus of Nazareth with the Holy Ghost, and with power ... For he, (says John the Baptist, referring to Christ) whom God hath sent, speaketh the words of God; for God giveth not the Spirit by measure unto him." ^a

Daniel also predicts of the Messiah, (v. 27) ; " And he shall confirm the *covenant* with many for one week." Now our enquiry here is, what is meant by the *covenant* ? And the answer is easy—The Gospel dispensation : For this was the covenant which Christ was to establish, and which he did establish and confirm by the most certain signs and miracles. Hence says Malachi (iii. 1) ; " And the Lord whom ye seek shall suddenly come to his temple, even the Messenger of the *covenant* whom ye delight in "... And in like manner St. Paul, (*Hebrews*, viii.) speaks of the Gospel as a covenant compared with the

^a Hebrews, i. 8, 9. Luke, iv. 18. Acts, x. 38. John, iii. 34.

Mosaick covenant: "But now hath he obtained a more excellent ministry, by how much also he is the Mediator of a better covenant, which was established upon better promises. For if that first covenant had been faultless, then should no place have been sought for the second: for finding fault with them he saith; Behold the days come, saith the Lord, when I will make a *new covenant* with the house of Israel, and with the house of Judah... In that he saith a *new covenant*, he hath made the first old." And thus exclaims Zacharias concerning Christ: "Blessed be the Lord God of Israel for he hath visited and redeemed his people... to perform the mercy promised to our Fathers, and to remember his holy *covenant*;—the oath which he sware to our father Abraham." (*Luke*, i. 68, 72, 73). Nor should we omit noticing the *time*, in which this covenant was confirmed,—"*for one week*;" i. e. during the last of the seventy weeks, the Gospel covenant should be established and confirmed by the preaching of John and of Christ: And this we find was fulfilled; for the time of their ministry occupied about seven years, i. e. one of the last, of the seventy weeks. And that the preaching of John should be here taken into consideration is plain from two or three passages of scripture, which connect his preaching with Christ's: Hence says his father Zacharias (*Luke*, i. 76, 77), concerning John; "And thou child shalt be called the prophet of the Highest: For thou shalt go before the face of the Lord to prepare his ways; to give knowledge of salvation unto his people, by the remission of their sins." And Christ says (*Luke*, xvi. 16); "The law and the prophets were *until* John; since that time the kingdom of God is preached, and every man presseth into it." And again (*Mat.* xi, 12); "And from the days of John the Baptist until now the kingdom of heaven

suffereth violence, and the violent take it by force." The words of the learned Prideaux will best close this part of our subject. Speaking of the Baptist he says: "And this was that fifteenth year of the reign of Tiberius mentioned by St. Luke, in which St. John the Baptist first preached the baptism of repentance for the remission of sins; and therein the Gospel of Jesus Christ had its beginning. For Christ appeared for the revealing of this Gospel first by this his Messenger sent before his face to prepare the way for his personal appearance, which was accordingly made by him three years and an half after. First, therefore, John the Baptist begun the ministry of the Gospel in this fifteenth year of Tiberius, and continued in it for three years and an half; that is, he begun it about the time of the paschal feast, and continued it till the feast of tabernacles in the fourth year after. And then, John being cast into prison, Christ appeared to take it on him in person, and personally carried it on three years and an half more. So that the whole term of Christ's ministry while he was here on earth, as executed first vicariously by John his forerunner, and afterwards personally by himself, was exactly seven years; and these seven years constituted the last of the seventy weeks in Daniel's prophecy." °

And during this week, or seven years, the covenant was confirmed with many: For though the Jews, as a nation, rejected Christ, yet many of them became obedient to the faith of the Gospel, and received Christ as their Messiah—their Lord and Saviour. For "among the chief Rulers also *many* believed on him. . . Then *many* of the Jews who came to Mary, and had seen the things which Jesus did, believed on him . . .

• Prid. A. D. 26.

As he spake these words *many* believed on him." ^p And we learn also from Acts, (vi. 7.) that the " word of God increased; and the number of the disciples multiplied in Jerusalem greatly; and a *great company* of the priests were obedient to the faith." So that we find the covenant of the Gospel was confirmed with numbers, who believed on Christ as the true Messiah. They received him as their spiritual deliverer, and became obedient to him as their prince and king.

But the Messiah was not only to confirm the Gospel covenant with many; he was also to put an end to the Jewish dispensation: For (v. 27), " in the midst of the week, he shall cause the sacrifice and the oblation to cease." Now, "*the midst of the week*," is translated by Sir. I. Newton, "*half a week*;" and by Prideaux, and the margin of the Bible, "*the half part thereof*," i. e. the half part of the week. Which shews that, at the *conclusion* of the last week of the seventy weeks, Christ, by the offering up of himself, should put an end to the Jewish system of typical sacrifices and oblations. " For Christ is the End of the law for righteousness to every one that believeth," (Rom. x. 4). And hence, in Hebrews, (x. 9) speaking of the abolition of the Jewish system by Christ, the Apostle says; " He *taketh away* the first that he may establish the second." The law, or Jewish dispensation, was only, " a shadow of good things to come." (Hebrews, x. 1.) But the substance was Christ and his Gospel: He brought in the new covenant, which was to supersede the old. For, (Heb. viii. 13) " in that he saith, a new covenant, he hath made the first old. Now that which decayeth and

^p John, xii. 42. xi. 46. viii. 30.

waxeth old is ready to vanish away." By the Levitical priesthood perfection was not to be obtained; and therefore God promised another Priest, Christ, after the order of Melchizedec: But from this promise it is clear that the Levitical, or Jewish system, was to end in Christ; "For, the Priesthood being changed, there is made of necessity a change also of the law... For the law made nothing perfect, but the bringing in of a better hope did: by the which we draw nigh unto God,... But now once in the end of the world hath he appeared to put away sin by the sacrifice of himself." (*Hebrews*, vii. 11, 12, 19, 26, 27. ix. 25, 26.) "For all other sacrifices and oblations till then being only Antetypes and figurative representations of this great sacrifice after to be offered, and of no virtue or efficacy but as they referred to it; when this was offered all others vanished of course, as the representative doth, at the appearance of the principal, or the type, or figure, at the presence of the thing that is typified or expressed by it; and the virtue and propitiation of this one sacrifice hath sufficed for all ever since. The whole latter part of the last week being the time of Christ's personal ministry here on earth, as the whole of it was employed in the preaching of the Gospel, which was to cause the law to cease, so the whole of it may very properly be said to be employed, in causing all those sacrifices and oblations to cease, which the law enjoined, though the whole was not completed, till at the end of this half part, by his death and passion. For then, at the offering up of this great sacrifice, the virtue and efficacy of all others ceased for ever."

III. But as the Messiah was to be cut off, or put

¶ *Prid. v. 1. p. 293.*

to death, by the Jews; so, for this great crime, great punishments should be inflicted upon them. We shall therefore, in the order of this dissertation, consider the evils which, in after times, should befall the Jews.

Now those evils are thus predicted in verses 26 and 27: "And the people of the prince that shall come, shall destroy the city and the sanctuary: And the end thereof shall be with a flood. And unto the end of the war desolations are determined... And for the overspreading of abominations he shall make it desolate, even until the consummation, and that determined shall be poured upon the desolate."

Now the people here intended are the Romans, who not quite forty years after the cutting off of the Messiah, destroyed the city and sanctuary of Jerusalem. And in this application it was that Josephus himself understood this prophecy: For, speaking of the prophet Daniel, he says, "He wrote several wonderful things also about the *Roman empire*, and what a desolation they should make of our people; all which he received by divine revelation, and transmitted in writing to posterity, to stand as a testimony upon record of the agreement betwixt the presage and the event." "No where else, but in this prophecy of seventy weeks, doth Daniel speak of the devastation the Jews were to suffer from the *Romans*; no where else is a *term fixed* for these events; we may therefore be assured that Josephus referred to this very prophecy, for what he writes; and that Jesus Christ had the authority of the Jews with him, when he inter-

L'Estrange's Jos. B. 10.

preted the same prophecy of the destruction of the temple by the *Romans*.” *

The manner in which the city and sanctuary were destroyed by the Romans, and the flood of desolation which befell the Jews, will be easily explained by a few quotations from Josephus. Whilst Titus besieged Jerusalem, he was exceedingly anxious to save both the city and temple ; and therefore he employed Josephus, a Jew, to persuade, if he could, the party within the city to advance without the walls, and try the issue of a battle. In the speech which Josephus made, he says ; “ What can be clearer than the frequent predictions we meet with in history, pointing at the destruction of this miserable city ; and that the time of it is then near at hand, when the Jews are tearing out the hearts one of another. *Now this is so far come to pass, that not only the houses, but the temples, are polluted with the blood of your own tribes.* And what is all this now, but the divine judgment of God, punishing the Jews by the hand of the Romans, which will probably end in purging the city by fire.” As the siege proceeded, famine became most dreadful : “ It was enough to create a war in a family, to have but any jealousy of meat in it . . . Nothing coming amiss to them, which the foulest of brutes themselves would boggle at ; Girdles, Shoe leather, Beasts’ skins, &c. Nay a handful of old Hay was sold for *four Atticks*.” A woman of the name of Mary, who had fled from the country to take refuge in Jerusalem, “ killed her child, boiled and dressed it ; the one half of it she eat herself ; and the other half of it she set by out of the way, and kept covered ” . . . The temple soon became a prey to the flames in spite of Titus’ anxiety

* Chandler’s def. p. 142.

to preserve it: For "there was at this time a certain Soldier, that without any pretence of authority or conscience for so impious a fact, took upon him to act by the inspiration of a divine impulse. He mounted the shoulders of one of his comrades; and then cast a flaming brand into the golden window that looks towards the apartments on the north side of the temple. The place took fire immediately." In the conflagration vast numbers of the Jews perished; and the Roman soldiers, regardless of restraint or command, put whomsoever they could to the sword. "As for the poor people, the sickly, and the unarmed, they put them to the sword wherever they found them: Mountains of dead bodies piled up about the altar, and streams of blood flowing down the stairs; with numbers of miserable creatures weltering in their own gore." About six thousand persons were collected in a gallery without the temple; but the soldiers set it on fire, "and plied it so close, that betwixt those that were burnt to death, and others that cast themselves head long down the ruins to save themselves, there was not one soul came off alive." After the destruction of the temple the Roman soldiers pursued the work of fire and slaughter; for being possessed of the walls they planted their colours upon the Towers with shouts of joy, and immediately proceeded to the entire ruin of the city. They slew all who "fell in their way without distinction; and burning intire houses, and whatever was in them, in one common flame... They stabbed every man they met, till the narrow passages and alleys were choked up with carcases": So that the channels of the city ran with blood, as if it had been to quench the fire. In the evening they gave over killing, and at night fell afresh

to burning." "The number of prisoners in this war was ninety-seven thousand. The number of the dead was eleven hundred thousand; the greater part of them Jews by nation, though not natives of Judea." They had come from all quarters to celebrate the feast of the passover; "so that this mighty concourse of people from abroad, before the siege, was afterwards, by the righteous providence of God, cooped up in the city as in a prison: And the number of the slain in that siege, was the heaviest judgment of the kind that ever was heard of. Some were killed openly; others kept in custody by the Romans, who searched the very sepulchres and vaults for them, and put all they found alive to the sword... The Romans, after this, burnt the remainder of the city, and threw down the walls... This was, in fine, the issue of the siege. And when the Soldiers had neither rapine nor bloodshed for their spleen to work upon;... Titus ordered them to lay the city and temple level with the ground, and leave nothing standing, but the three famous towers, *Phasaël, Hippicos, and Mariamne*... And a piece of a wall to the westward of the town, where he designed a garrison... This order was punctually executed; and all the rest laid so flat, that the place looked as if it never had been inhabited. This was the end of the Jerusalem faction; a mad and seditious people: And this was also the end of the most glorious city of the universe."† And here we see the fulfilling of the prediction, that the "end thereof shall be with a flood:" Titus with his armies did destroy the city and the sanctuary; and ruin and desolation came upon the Jews to the uttermost.

The application of this prophecy to the destruction

† L'Estranges' Jos. wars of the Jews, B. 7.

of Jerusalem by the Romans, is made certain by our Lord, when he says, (*Mat. xxiv. 15, 16.*) " When ye therefore shall see the *abomination of desolation*, spoken of by Daniel the Prophet, stand in the holy place, (whoso readeth, let him understand); then let them which be in Judea flee into the mountains : " And again (*Luke, xxi. 20*); " When ye shall see Jerusalem compassed with armies, then know that the desolation thereof is nigh. " The words in verse 27, " *overspreading abomination* " are rendered] in the Septuagint,—according to our Lord's expression,— " the *abomination of desolations* ; " And, by Montanus' version, Mr. Mede, and Sir I. Newton, " A wing of abominations ; " i. e. says Mr. Mede, " An army of idolatrous Gentiles. " For the word, wing, comes from a verb, which signifies *to environ or compass about*, and well applies to the Roman army which besieged Jerusalem; for it is common to say, the right or left *wing* of an army; which in reality means, the army, or part of the army itself. And as an army has always its ensigns, or standards; so the army and its standards may indifferently be put the one for the other. And hence the " *overspreading of abominations*," according to Daniel, or the " *abomination of desolation*," according to our Lord, will signify the Roman armies, or their ensigns, which were strictly abominations, because the Roman soldiers treated and served them as *Idols*. For idols in the language of scripture are called *abominations*: Hence it is said (*1 Kings, xi. 5, 7*), " Solomon went after Ashtoreth the Goddess of the Zidonians, and after Milcom the *abomination* of the Ammonites... Then did Solomon build an high place for Chemosh the *abomination* of Moab; and for Molech the *abomination* of the children of Ammon. "

That the Roman ensigns, or eagles, were treated and served as idols, is evident: For Tertullian says, The camp religion of the Romans leads them to *venerate* their ensigns; they swear by them, and prefer them before all the Gods; and Tacitus calls them the *deities* of the legions, and the *Gods* of war: And Suetonius tells us, that when Artabanus had passed the Euphrates, he *adored* the eagles and ensigns of the Romans, and the effigies of the Cæsars.* In consequence then of the idolatrous manner in which the Romans treated their ensigns, they were properly and truly *abominations*, and offensive to the one living and true God, and also to the Jews. On this subject, Whitby says, (*Matthew*, xxiv. 15): " This army might be called an *abomination*, as being so to the Jews, by reason of the images of Cæsar, and an eagle in the ensigns of it; *The abomination of desolation*, because it was to lay the country, city, and the temple desolate."

By means of this desolating army, as we have seen from Josephus, was the whole Jewish state and polity destroyed: And never since have the Jews become an independent nation; but are scattered almost among all people, as a bye word and a reproach." But in this prediction of Daniel concerning their desolation, there is evidently an implied promise that it will not continue forever: For he says (v. 27), " He shall make it desolate even *until* the consummation, and that determined shall be poured upon the desolate." There is clearly then in this verse an intimation of the future restoration of the Jews: A restoration made certain by other prophecies in holy writ. They are still suffering that desolation which is here predicted; but

* Pol. Syn. Mat. xxiv. 15.

only *until* that which is determined, shall have been poured upon them; For St. Paul says (*Rom. xi. 25, 26.*); "I would not brethren that ye should be ignorant of this mystery, lest ye should be wise in your own conceits; that blindness in part is happened to Israel, *until* the fulness of the Gentiles be come in. And so all Israel shall be saved: As it is written, there shall come out of Sion the Deliverer, and shall turn away ungodliness from Jacob." And our Lord, speaking of the desolations which the Jews should suffer as predicted by Daniel, says, (*Luke, xxi. 24*); "And they shall fall by the edge of the sword, and shall be led away captive into all nations; And Jerusalem shall be trodden down of the Gentiles, *until* the times of the Gentiles be fulfilled." When therefore the times of the Gentiles shall be fulfilled, then will God again have mercy upon and restore his ancient people. But when that time will be, or in what manner their restoration will be effected, or what *kind* of a restoration will take place, we pretend not to determine: But this we say with the Apostle (*Rom. xi. 15*); "If the casting away of them be the reconciling of the world, what shall the receiving of them be, but life from the dead?"

Dissertation

13.

CHAPTER X.

WHEN those servants of God, who have been most eminent for piety and virtue, approach near to death, they are sometimes favoured with especial revelations of the divine will. For when Isaac was old and his eyes were dim, he was enabled to describe the future lot and condition of his Sons, Jacob and Esau, and of their posterity: And when Jacob was bending over the grave, we find him (*Gen. xlviii. xlix.*) predicting the future circumstances of the Sons of Joseph, and of the twelve tribes in general: So also to Daniel, now about the ninetieth year of his age, God is pleased once more to give a very detailed and particular revelation of what would befall his people in the latter days. Though on several former occasions he had been highly favoured with the manifestation of things which would happen both to his own people the Jews, and to the world at large; yet still, at the very close of life, he was anxious to know the designs of providence respecting

his nation. He had (ix. 3) before sought this knowledge, "by prayer and supplications, with fasting, and sackcloth, and ashes;" And his prayer was heard and answered: So now he repeats the same method; for says he (vs. 2, 3), "In those days I Daniel was mourning three full weeks. I ate no pleasant bread, neither came flesh nor wine in my mouth, neither did I anoint myself at all, till three whole weeks were fulfilled." And *why* he thus humbled himself is explained by the angel (v. 14), who says to him; "I am come to make thee understand what shall befall thy people in the latter days: for yet the vision is for many days." The prophet was anxious to know the future state of his people; he sought this knowledge by fasting and prayer, and it was graciously granted.

Among the Jews there were two kinds of fasting; total, and partial: of the first kind was David's (2 Samuel, iii. 35); "And when all the people came to cause David to eat meat while it was yet day, David swear, saying, So do God to me and more also, if I taste bread, or *ought else*, till the Sun be down;" of the second kind was Daniel's, who lived on coarse fare, and did not anoint himself with perfumes during three weeks. In times of festivity it was usual with the Jews to anoint themselves; hence Naomi says to Ruth (Ruth, iii. 3); "Wash thyself therefore, and anoint thee, and put thy raiment upon thee, and get thee down to the floor:" But in times of grief they abstained from it; for Joab says to the wise woman of Tekoah (2 Samuel, xiv. 2); "I pray thee, feign thyself to be a mourner, and put on now mourning apparel, and anoint not thyself with oil, but be as a woman that had a long time mourned for the dead." And, as Daniel felt grief and sorrow for

the captivity of his countrymen; so, his outward appearance and manners corresponded with the feelings of his heart. His clothing was that of a mourner; and his diet as one who was humbling himself, and interceding with God.

Nor did this eminent servant of God fast and pray in vain: for at the expiration of the three weeks his prayers were answered by a remarkable vision: For as he was by the great river Hiddekel, he saw "a certain man clothed in linen, whose loins were girded with fine gold of Uphaz: His body also was like the Beryl, and his face as the appearance of lightning, and his eyes as lamps of fire, and his arms and his feet like in colour to polished brass, and the voice of his words like the voice of a multitude" (v. 5, 6). This *certain man* was evidently the Son of God, who is called by Daniel (vii. 13); "one like the Son of Man:" And the description, which John gives (Rev. i. 13—15) of Jesus, is so very similar to Daniel's, that it is clear John borrowed his from him. And that the Son of God did appear at times under the old Testament dispensation, is evident from Genesis (xviii. 2, 25, 26): For when Abraham looked, "lo, *three men* stood by him;" And to one of these he afterwards addresses his prayer for the cities of Sodom and Gomorrah, and says; "Shall not the judge of all the earth do right." But who is the judge of all the earth but Christ? for he it is, "which was ordained of God to be the judge of quick and dead." (Acts, x. 42).

This *certain man* is also described as having his loins "girded with fine gold of Uphaz." Now according to Bochart and Calmet, Uphaz and Ophir are the same place. But it is by no means agreed upon among the learned *where* Ophir was situated;

some thinking it to be in the East Indies, and others in Africa. Without however entering into any particular investigation of the subject, we shall quote the opinion of Wells and Prideaux. Wells says; "I shall say no more of Ophir here, than that it is generally agreed to lie in the East Indies." And on the same subject Prideaux thus expresses himself: "But though it be by all agreed that the trade to Ophir and Tarshish was the same, that is now in the hands of our East India Merchants, yet there are great disputes among learned men, in what parts of the Eastern world these two places lay. Some will have Ophir to have been the island of Zocatora, which lies on the eastern coasts of Africa a little without the streights of Babelmandel. Others will have it to be the island anciently called Taprobana, now Ceylon; and for its being an Island, they have the authority of Eupolemus, an ancient author quoted by Eusebeus, on their side. For, speaking of David, he saith of him, that he built ships at Elath, a city of Arabia; and from thence sent metal men to the island of Urphe, or Ophir, situated in the red sea, which was fruitful in yielding abundance of gold; and the metal men brought it from thence to Judea... Only thus much I cannot forbear to say, that if the Southern part of Arabia did furnish the world in those times with the best gold, and in the greatest quantity, as good authors say, they that would have the Ophir of the holy Scriptures to be there situated, seem of all others to have the best foundation for their conjecture. But more than conjecture no one can have in this matter."*

When Daniel saw the vision, which is the subject of our present consideration, he was by the river

* Wells's, *Sa. Geo.* v. 1. p. 93. *Prid.* v. 1. p. 9, 10.

Hiddekel; as formerly (viii.) he was by the river of Ulai." "Now the Hebrew word, Hiddekel," says Wells, "is by the seventy interpreters rendered the Tigris; and the river called by Moses Hiddekel, is in truth no other than that river, which by the Greeks and Latins is commonly called Tigris &c." And indeed God did often reveal his will by the side of Rivers; as to Daniel before, by the side of Ulai; to Ezekiel at Chebar; and to John and the Jews at Jordan, when the spirit of God descended like a Dove and lighted upon Christ, and a voice from heaven said, "This is my beloved son in whom I am well pleased." The banks of a river are well fitted for the exercise of devotion: the flowing of the water and the retirement of the situation tend to calm and sooth the mind; and to prepare it for the communication of heavenly wisdom and knowledge. And hence among the Jews there used to be *places* for prayer by the sides of rivers, which were called *Proseuchæ*--houses of prayer: to one of which places at Philippi, Paul and his companions went; for "on the Sabbath we went out of the city, by a riverside, where prayer was wont to be made" (*Acts*, xvi. 18). The glorious appearance of the Son of God affected Daniel with the deepest awe and terror, as well as those that were with him; and his companions fled and left him alone. Similar to this was the effect of the appearance of Jesus upon Saul, as he was going to Damascus to persecute those who believed on him: For "he fell to the earth... And the men which journeyed with him stood speechless, hearing a voice but seeing no man." And when John saw him who had been dead but is now alive forevermore, he "fell at his feet as dead." But the sleep, or trance, into which Daniel fell, did

* Well's Sa. Geo. v. 1. p, 15.

not prevent him from hearing what was spoken; for says he (v. 9), "Yet heard I the voice of his words: And when I heard the voice of his words, then was I in a deep sleep on my face toward the ground." The bodily powers of the prophet were in a great degree overpowered; but his mental faculties were preserved and sustained; that he might understand and retain the information which would be communicated to him.

But Daniel was soon strengthened in body as well as supported in mind; for the hand of Gabriel (v. 10) touched him, and set him upon his knees and the palms of his hands. That this was Gabriel who touched him, and not the *certain man*, the Son of God, appears from Chapters xi. 1, and ix. 21. For the person, who says (xi. 1), "I in the first year of Darius the Mede, even I, stood to confirm and to strengthen him," is evidently the same, who is mentioned in (ix. 21) by the name of Gabriel; since the vision related in chapter ix. took place in the first year of Darius the Mede, and was explained to Daniel by the same angel who explains the vision now under our consideration. Gabriel seems to have been the guardian; or rather *one* of the guardian angels of the Jews; for he says (vs. 12, 13), "From the first day that thou didst set thine heart to understand and to chasten thyself before thy God, thy words were heard; and I am come for thy words. But the prince of the kingdom of Persia withstood me one and twenty days: But, lo! Michael, one of the chief princes came to help me." From which it is clear that both Michael and Gabriel were zealous to promote the welfare of the Jewish nation. And that the angels are appointed by God to superintend, in *some degree*, the affairs of men, is evident from the different instances of their interferences which are mentioned in Scripture. "Are they not all

ministering Spirits, sent forth to *minister* for them who shall be heirs of Salvation?" (*Hebrews*, i. 14). But this is still more clear, if we refer to Zechariah (iv. 10) and to Mr. Mede's learned exposition; "These seven, they are the eyes of the Lord, which run to and fro through the whole earth." "I add moreover, that these angels are those chief princes mentioned in the tenth of Daniel, 13; *Michael one of the chief princes*, saith the angel there, *came to help me*: Now Michael we know, is one of the Archangels; and why therefore may not these *chief princes* be those whereof St. Paul speaks in his adjuration to Timothy? I charge thee, saith he, before God and the Lord Jesus Christ, and the *elect angels*; not the good angels at large, but those *angeli eximii*, the *seven archangels* which stand before the throne of God."

"And it may not without reason, be conjectured that those *seven chief princes*, famed in the Persian monarchy, took their beginning from hence; namely, that Daniel, who in respect of his account for wisdom, and of his power under Darius the Mede, had a main stroke in the moulding and framing the government of that state, caused the Persian court to resemble that of heaven, ordaining *seven chief princes* to stand before the king. Of which we find twice mention in Scripture: As in the book of Esther, where they are recorded by name, and styled the *seven princes* of Media and Persia, who saw the king's face and sate *first* in the kingdom: And in the commission granted to Ezra by Artaxerxes, (*Ezra*, vii. 14), they are called the king's *seven counsellors*; forasmuch as thou art sent by the king, and his *seven counsellors* &c. And it may be the church of Jerusalem, when they chose *seven* Deacons to minister unto their Bishop, had an eye the same way."

"Hitherto, of the *number* of these Archangels: Now a word or two of their *office*. And that is, first, to be the *universal inspectors of the whole world*; and the rulers and princes of the whole angelical host: which appears, in that they are called *chief princes*, and *archangels* i. e. *chief of the angels*: their universal jurisdiction is meant by the words, *sent forth unto the whole world*; whereas the rest are limited to certain places. Secondly, to have the peculiar charge and guardianship of the church and affairs thereof, whilst the rest of the world, with their polities, kingdoms, and governments, is committed to the care of subordinate angels, who according to their several charges may seem to carry those names of *thrones, principalities, powers and dominions*. That the charge of the church, *qua talis*, belongs thus peculiarly and immediately to the *seven archangels*, may appear by St. John's saluting the churches with a benediction of grace and peace from their ministry; and the typing of them by the seven eyes and horns of the lamb, as powers which the father, since he exalted him to be head of his church, hath annexed to his jurisdiction. Hence it comes to pass that we find these angels peculiarly, both before and in the Gospel, to have been employed about the church affairs. In the old testament the angel Gabriel, one of the *seven*, revealed to Daniel the time of the restoration of the Jewish state, and coming of Messiah: And the angel Michael, one of the chief princes was his assistant, when he strengthened Darius the Mede, who founded the monarchy which should restore them, and is in special termed (Dan. xii. i.) *the prince that stood for Daniel's people*. In the Gospel we find the same angel Gabriel, employed both to Zachary and the

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blessed Virgin, with the evangelical tidings; and that Zachary might take notice, that he was one of the *seven*, he says unto him, I am Gabriel that stand in the presence of God. Likewise in the Churches, combat with the Dragon, Apocal. xii. 7. &c. Michael and his angels are said to be her champions, and in her quarrel to have cast the Dragon and his angels down to the earth. And in this prophecy of Zachary (iii. 9) it is said that these seven eyes of the Lord took care of one stone, which Zorobabel, laid for the foundation of the temple; and therefore the work could not be disappointed, but should certainly at length be finished. So as by this time we may guess the meaning of that which Hanani the Seer told king Asa (2. Chron. xvi. 9) ; The eyes of the Lord, i. e. these *seven eyes*, run to and fro through the whole earth, to shew themselves strong in the behalf of those, whose hearts are perfect towards him." *

That the angels are sent to minister to *individuals* is certain: Why then should they not minister to kingdoms, as well as to individuals? And that indeed they do minister to kingdoms is evident; for Gabriel says (xi. 1) "Also I in the first year of Darius the Mede, even I, stood to confirm and to strengthen him;" i. e. to aid him *as the head* of the empire, and therefore the kingdom itself. And if Gabriel at one time was the guardian angel of the Medes and Persians under Darius, why should not another angel become the guardian of the Persians, when Cyrus succeeded to the whole empire? Besides the angel Michael is called (v. 21) "your prince," i. e. the prince of the Jews; for Gabriel says, "There is none that holdeth with me in these things, but Michael your prince."

* Mede's Works, p. 42—3.

Why then should not the Persians also have *their* guardian angel, or prince? And that they had is clear from verse twentieth: for Gabriel says; "Now will I return to fight with the prince of Persia;" i. e. with the guardian angel of Persia. But against this it may be objected; How can *good* angels be said to *fight*, or *contend* with each other? The reply is, that to *fight*, or *contend*, is spoken merely in reference to human manners, or courts; in which different ministers are often of different sentiments, and argue with each other in support of their own opinions and plans. And the united efforts of Gabriel and Michael prevail: and the former proceeds from the court of heaven to communicate to Daniel the knowledge of future events.

But though Daniel was strengthened in body and supported in mind, still the vision affected him greatly, for says he (v. 15); "I set my face toward the ground, and I became dumb." The glorious appearance of the Son of God, and his attendant angels, and the importance of the matters which he expected would be revealed to him, so deeply affected him, that he retained no strength. But that Goodness which sent an angel to inform him what should befall his people in future times, also imparted fresh vigour that he might be able to receive the revelation; for "then there came again and touched me one like the appearance of a man, and he strengthened me" (v. 18). And when he was strengthened Gabriel thus addresses him" (v. 20—1): "Knowest thou wherefore I come unto thee? And now will I return to fight with the prince of Persia: And when I am gone forth, lo, the prince of Grecia shall come. But I will shew thee

that which is noted in the Scripture of truth: And there is none that holdeth with me in these things, but Michael your prince." Now to *fight*, according to Wintle, signifies merely to *contend*; and refers, as has been already stated, to the opposing and different arguments which Ministers in a court, or at a council, who are of different sentiments, oppose to each other: And Gabriel here gives an indirect intimation that the Persian empire should be overthrown and succeeded by the Grecian; for when he had prevailed against the prince of Persia, the prince of Grecia should come, to advocate and promote the cause of that empire: And we have already shewn in former dissertations the overthrow of the kingdom of Persia by the Greeks. Nor could any thing prevent the fulfilment of what the angel was about to reveal; for they were "noted in the scripture of truth," i. e., according to Wintle, *in the writing of truth*, or *in the true decrees of God*. And here is also an evident allusion to the practice of governments which note, or write in their council books that which is resolved upon, and intended to be carried into execution: As if the angel had said; *I will shew thee what is determined upon in the decrees of the Most High*. Nor was Gabriel alone in his exertions for the welfare of the Jews; for Michael their prince, whom Jude styles the Archangel, assisted him. These two eminent servants of God advocated the cause of the Jews, and prevailed; and Gabriel is sent to unfold to Daniel a long series of great and important events.

"As this chapter is intended as an introduction to the prophecies in the two next chapters, it may be observed that the sum of it is this; that the prayer of Daniel, in behalf of the Jews, had been heard; but that the Jews would be crossed in their design of

building the temple ; but nevertheless God would protect them ; that the prince of Javan, or of the Greeks i. e. Alexander the Great would come against the Persians ; and that the principal angels, such as he was who talked with Daniel, and Michael the Archangel would be employed by God to defend and assist the Jews, and to strengthen the kings who were for the Jews ; as at the beginning of the following chapter the angel who here speaks is said to have strengthened king Darius. The affliction and fasting of Daniel, who mourned for three weeks, should be considered as the effect of his zeal for the glory of God to be manifested in the restoration of the Jews ; it being the character of pious and zealous persons to afflict themselves when the glory of God is obstructed, and to offer up fervent prayers for the peace and prosperity of their country. With respect to what the angel said to Daniel of his labouring and striving for the Jews against those who sought their ruin, it is a proof that God makes use of the ministry of angels to execute his designs, and for the protection and benefit of those whom he is pleased to bless. " *

And, since Daniel received such a manifestation of the divine will in answer to his fasting and prayer, we also may see the importance and utility of humbling ourselves in like manner in behalf of our country, or ourselves. Many are the encouragements to fervent, faithful prayer ; and they who diligently and humbly seek the blessing of God will most assuredly obtain it ; for " if any man be a worshipper of God and doeth his will, him he heareth." (*John*, ix. 31) .

* Benson's commentary.

Dissertation

14.

CHAPTER XI. *vs.* 1—20.

AS this chapter contains many things which we have already explained in former dissertations, we shall be brief upon those subjects of which we *have* treated. The prophecy upon which we are now entering is as a commentary upon some of those which have preceded, and particularly upon that contained in the eight chapter: And it is not represented by symbols, as by an image, a wild beast, or a horn; but is revealed in direct terms. "And now," says Gabriel (v. 2), "will I shew thee the truth. Behold there shall stand up yet *three kings* in Persia; and the fourth shall be far richer than they all: And by his strength through his riches he shall stir up all against the realm of Grecia."

The *three kings* who were to succeed Cyrus, in the third year of whose reign this vision was revealed unto Daniel, were Cambyeses, his son; Smerdis; and Darius Hystaspis. Cambyeses was enterprizing, but cruel and

tyrannical. He married his Sister Meroe, and afterwards caused her death ; he shot the Son of Prexaspes his chief confidant with an arrow, and the day afterwards caused twelve of the chief Persians who had done no harm, to be buried alive, with their heads downward. He ordered Cræsus, who had been king of Lydia, to be put to death, because he remonstrated against his tyrannical and cruel conduct ; And though he did not carry his order into execution, yet he put those to death who had been appointed to execute his purpose, but had not done it. At Memphis he opened the Sepulchres to view the bodies which lay in them ; and defaced, threw down, and burnt several temples. His reign was seven years and five months : the remaining seven months of the eighth year was the reign of Smerdis the Magian. *

The manner in which Smerdis obtained the kingdom was thus : “ Cambyses, when he departed from Shushan, on the Egyptian expedition, placed there in the supreme government of his affairs, during his absence, Patizithes, one of the chief Magians. This Patizithes had a brother, who did very much resemble Smerdis the Son of Cyrus, and was for that reason, perchance, called by the same name. As soon as he had been fully informed of the death of that prince,” who had been put to death by his brother Cambyses, “and found that the extravagancies of Cambyses were grown to an height no longer to be borne, he placed this brother of his on the throne, giving out that he was the true Smerdis, the Son of Cyrus ; and forthwith sent out Heralds into all parts of the empire to give notice hereof, and command obedience to

* Usher. an. 523. and Prid. an. 522.

be paid unto him." ^b But the imposture was soon discovered; and the reign of Smerdis was short. For Otanes and six of the Persian nobles entered into a conspiracy against him, and put him to death. They "entered into the palace, and there falling on the Usurper and his brother Patizithes, who had been the contriver of the whole plot, slew them both, and then bringing out their heads to the people, declared unto them the whole imposture." ^c

As soon as Smerdis was dead, the conspirators resolved that the monarchy should continue as it had been established by Cyrus. But "the next question was to know, which of them should be king, and how they should proceed to the election. This they thought fit to refer to the Gods. Accordingly they agreed to meet the next morning, by Sun rising, on horseback, at a certain place in the suburbs of the city; and that he, whose horse first neighed, should be king. For the Sun being the chief Deity of the Persians, they imagined, that taking this course, would be giving him the honour of the election. Darius' groom, hearing of the agreement, made use of the following artifice to secure the crown to his Master. The night before he carried a mare to the place appointed for their meeting the next day, and brought his Master's horse. The Lords assembled the next morning at the rendezvous; no sooner was Darius' horse come to the place, where he had smelt the mare, than he fell a neighing: Whereupon *Darius was saluted king* by the others, and placed on the throne. He was the Son of Hystaspia, a Persian by birth, and of the royal family of Achæmenes." ^d The reign of Darius was

^b Prid. an. 522.

^c Prid. an. 522.

^d Rollin. v. 2. p. 265—6. Ed. 1813. Herod. L. iii. c. 84—87.

long and prosperous, continuing about thirty six years.

“Darius was a prince of wisdom, clemency, and justice, and hath the honour to have his name recorded in holy writ for a favourer of God’s people, a restorer of his temple at Jerusalem, and a promoter of his worship therein; For all which God was pleased to make him his instrument, and in respect hereof, I doubt not, it was that he blessed him with a numerous issue, a long reign, and great prosperity... He added many large and rich provinces to the empire, especially those of India, Thrace, Macedon, and the isles of the Ionian sea,” *

Darius was succeeded in the empire by his son Xerxes, who was the *fourth* king of Persia, after Cyrus; and who “shall be far richer than they all; and by his strength through his riches he shall stir up all against the realm of Grecia.” (v. 2). In Xerxes two things are chiefly to be explained, his *riches*, and his *expedition against Greece*. Of Xerxes, says Justin, if you consider the king, you would praise his riches, but not him as a general: His *riches* were so great, that though rivers were drunk up by the multitude of his troops, yet the *royal wealth was still redundant*. Xerxes employed three years in preparing his forces for the Grecian expedition, and in accumulating treasure for the pay of his troops: And having “resolved on the Grecian war, entered into a league with the Carthaginians; whereby it was agreed that while the Persians invaded Greece, the Carthaginians should fall on all those who were of the Grecian name in Sicily and Italy, that thereby they might be diverted from helping one the other. And the Carthaginians

* Prid. an. 486.

made choice of Hamilcar to be their general in this war, who not only raised what forces he could in Africa, but also with the money sent him by Xerxes hired a great number of Mercenaries out of Spain, Gallia, and Italy, so that he got together an army of three hundred thousand men, and a fleet proportionable thereto, for the prosecuting of the intent of this league. And thus Xerxes, according as was foretold by the prophet Daniel, having by his strength and through his great riches, stirred up all the then known world against the realm of Grecia, that is, all the West under the command of Hamilcar, and all the East under his own, he did in the fifth year of his reign, which was the tenth after the battle of Marathon, set out from Susa to begin the war, and having marched as far as Sardis wintered there.... The whole number of forces by sea and land, which Xerxes brought with him out of Asia to invade Greece, amounted to two Millions three hundred and seventeen thousand six hundred and ten men." ^f But though his riches and forces were so exceedingly great, yet his expedition ended in defeat and disgrace. He entered into Greece, but was soon obliged to return, and to recross the Hellespont in a poor fishing boat, for fear of being delayed or taken prisoner. And, as Justin says, "It was a thing worth the sight, and a rare example of human frailty and change of things in this world, to see him lie skulking in a little wherry, whom a little before, the whole sea seemed too little to contain; and him destitute of a page to wait upon him, under whose army the very earth had seemed to groan because of its weight." ^g After the defeats and disgrace which Xerxes sustained in his

^f Prid. an. 482.

^g Justin, L. 2. c. 13. and L. 3. c. 1.

war against Greece he gave himself up to ease and luxury, and fell into contempt with his people. And therefore in the twenty first year of his reign was taken off by Artabanus the captain of his guards; who with seven very valiant men entered into the palace in the night, and slew him in his bedchamber.

But the Greeks shall revenge the injuries inflicted upon them by the Persians; for "a mighty king shall stand up, that shall rule with great dominion, and do according to his will" (v. 3). This mighty king is Alexander the Great; who was represented before, in the eighth chapter, by the *notable horn* of an he goat between his eyes. He soon subdued the Persian empire, and revenged the evils which the Greeks had formerly suffered; his success was rapid, and his power was absolute. But on Alexander we shall not enlarge, as we have already done it: But shall just state that, by some, *this prophecy* is supposed to have been shewn to him, when he came to Jerusalem; though it seems as probable, or indeed more so, that it was the prophecy in chapter eighth, verset twenty one, where Daniel says, "The rough goat is the king of Grecia: and the great horn that is between his eyes, is the first king." Josephus thus relates the story: "After this discourse to Parmenio, the king (Alexander) embraced Jaddus, and was conducted into the city by the rest of the priests, where he went up to the temple, and sacrificed in form, according to order; paying also a singular veneration to the High Priest himself, who shewed the king, when the ceremony was over, *the book of the prophet Daniel*; and in it, the prediction of a certain *Greek* in time to come, that should make himself master of the Persian empire; *which Alexander interpreted of himself*,"^b

^b L'Estrange's Jos. p. 299.

But the Grecian as well as the Persian empire was to decay and be overthrown; its rise was to be rapid, and also its diminution: for "when he shall stand up, his kingdom shall be broken, and shall be divided toward the four winds of heaven, and not to his posterity, nor according to his dominion which he ruled: for his kingdom shall be plucked up, even for others beside those" (v. 4). When Alexander had arrived at the height of his power, he gave himself up to most inordinate drinking, and died at Babylon from his excesses, as we have formerly shewn. His empire after a few years of war and contention, was divided into four parts—to "*the four winds of heaven*:" For four of his Captains divided it among themselves, and reigned each over his own part. These four were Cassander, Lysimachus, Ptolemy, and Seleucus; and they divided the whole empire between them. Cassander had Macedon and Greece in the West; Lysimachus, Thrace and those parts of Asia, which lay upon the Hellespont and the Bosphorus in the North; Ptolemy, Egypt, Lybia, and Arabia, Palestine, and Cœle-Syria in the South; and Seleucus all the rest in the East.¹ So that Alexander's empire was divided "*toward the four winds of heaven*." And as each of these Successors to Alexander had but a *part* of the empire, so they ruled not "*according to his dominion*;" for they neither possessed his authority, nor extent of empire. And as to Alexander's *posterity* they were soon all destroyed: "His wife Statira, the daughter of Darius, was murdered out of jealousy by his other wife Roxana; and her body was thrown into a well, and earth cast upon it. His natural brother Aridæus, who succeeded him in the throne, by the name of

¹ Prid. an. 323.

Philip, was together with his wife Eurydice killed by the command of Olympias the mother of Alexander, after he had borne the title of king six years and some months: and not long after Olympias herself was slain in revenge by the soldiers of Cassander. Alexander Cægus, the Son of Alexander by Roxana, as soon as he was born, was joined in the title of king with Philip Aridæus; and when he had attained to the fourteenth year of his age, he and his mother were privately murdered in the castle of Amphipolis by order of Cassander. In the second year after this, Hercules the other son of Alexander, by Barsine the widow of Memnon, was also with his mother privately murdered by Polyspercon, induced thereto by the great offers made to him by Cassander. Such was the miserable end of all Alexander's family: And then the governors made themselves kings, each in his province; from which title they had abstained as long as any just heir of Alexander was surviving. Thus was Alexander's kingdom "*broken and divided not to his posterity, but was pluckt up even for others besides those.*" *

The angel adverts but briefly to the kingdoms of Persia and Greece, and proceeds now to the more particular object of this vision, viz, to detail the history of Syria and Egypt;—of Syria as the *northern*, and of Egypt as the *southern* kingdom: And the reason for this is, because the history of the Jews was more immediately connected with the history of these two kingdoms. And the situation of Judea was such that Syria lay *north*, and Egypt *south* of it.

“The king of the *South* shall be strong, and one

* Bishop Newton's Dis. 16.

of his princes; and he shall be strong above him, and have dominion; his dominion shall be a great dominion" (v. 5). Wintle translates this verse in a manner which is much more intelligible: "Then shall the king of the *South*, that is, one of his princes, be strong; yet shall another exceed him in strength, and have dominion; a large dominion will his dominion be." This king of the *South*, was Ptolemy Soter; who was the first king of Egypt after the destruction of Alexander's family. He was the founder of the famous library at Alexandria, and had very large possessions: His kingdom extended over Lybia, Cyrene, Palestine, Cyprus, some Grecian islands and Asiatic provinces. But his kingdom, however great, was considerably inferior to that of Seleucus Nicator, another of Alexander's princes, who enjoyed not only *Syria*, the *Northern* kingdom, but extended his conquests over *Asia*, beyond the river Indus, built Seleucia on the Tigris, and many other very considerable cities in India, Scythia, Armenia, and various parts of his wide dominions, and was the greatest of all Alexander's successors. He was a person of such great strength that Appian says, that laying hold of a bull by his horn he could stop him in his full career. He ruled over Syria, Phrygia, Mesopotamia, Bactria, Arabia, Hyrcania, and many parts of India, even beyond the Indus: he built sixteen cities named Antioch, five called Laodicea, besides a great many others¹. So that his dominion was indeed "*a great dominion*", and much exceeded Ptolemy Soter's the king of the *South*, or Egypt.

But neighbouring kingdoms are seldom long at peace with each other, as was proved by the frequent wars

¹ Wintle and Pole in loc. Justin, L. 15. C. 4.

between Syria and Egypt; though they frequently endeavoured by means of alliances and marriages to unite and establish peace among themselves. For "in the end of years they shall join themselves together: for the king's daughter of the South shall come to the king of the North to make an agreement: but she shall not retain the power of the arm; neither shall he stand nor his arm; but she shall be given up, and they that brought her, and he that begat her, and he that strengthened her in these times." (v. 6). Seleucus Nicator king of Syria was succeeded by his Son Antiochus Soter, and he by Antiochus Theus; in whose time Ptolemy Philadelphus was king of Egypt. Now, "*in the end of years,*" or rather, "*after some years,*" this Ptolemy gave his daughter in marriage to Antiochus Theus: For "the commotions and revolts which happened in the East making Antiochus weary of his war with king Ptolemy, peace was made between them on the terms, that Antiochus divorcing Laodice his former wife, should marry Berenice the daughter of Ptolemy, and make her his queen instead of the other, and entail his crown upon the male issue of that marriage. And this agreement being ratified on both sides, for the full performance of it Antiochus put away Laodice, though she were his sister by the same father, and he had two sons born to him by her; and Ptolemy carrying his daughter to Pelusium there put her on board his fleet, and sailed with her to Seleucia a sea port town near the mouth of the river Orontes in Syria, where having met Antiochus he delivered his daughter to him, and the marriage was celebrated with great solemnity. And thus the king's daughter of the *South* came and was married to the king of the *North*; and by virtue of that marriage *an agreement* was made between those two kings, according to the prophecy of the prophet Daniel

(xi. 5, 6). For in that place by the king of the *South* is meant the king of Egypt, and by the king of the *North* the king of Syria; and both are there so called in respect of Judea, which lying between these two countries hath Egypt on the *South*, as Syria on the *North*." ^k

But this marriage will avail but little; for, "she—Berenice—shall not retain the power of the arm; neither shall he stand, nor his arm: but she shall be given up, and he that strengthened her in these times" (v, 6). Wintle's translation of this passage is much more clear: "But the arm shall not retain strength, neither shall the offspring thereof be established; but she shall be delivered up with her attendants and her son, and whosoever supports her at the times." How exactly all this was fulfilled will be easily seen: For "Theus, as soon as he heard of the death of Philadelphus his father in law, removed Berenice from his bed, and again recalled unto him Laodice, and her children. But she knowing the unsteady and fickle humour of Theus, and therefore fearing that he might upon a slight change of mind again recall Berenice, as he had her, resolved to make use of the present opportunity to secure the succession to her son... For the effecting of this design she procured Theus to be poisoned by his servants, and by orders forged in his name, she secured the throne for her eldest son by him, who was called Seleucus Callinicus, who reigned twenty years. But Laodice not thinking him safe in the possession which he had thus taken of it, as long as Berenice and her son lived, designs were laid to cut *them both off*, which Berenice being informed of she fled with her son to Daphne, and there

^k Prid. an. 249.

shut herself up in the Asylum, which was built in that place by Seleucus Nicator. But she being circumvented by the fraud of those, who by the appointment of Laodice did there besiege her, first her Son, and afterwards she herself were villainously slain with all the Egyptian attendants that came with her. And hereby was exactly fulfilled what was foretold by the prophet Daniel concerning this marriage (xi. 6).^a

Ptolemy Philadelphus was succeeded in the throne of Egypt by his Son Ptolemy Euergetes; and the throne of Syria was filled by Seleucus Callinicus after the death of his father Antiochus Theus. Callinicus was the Son of Laodice; and Euergetes was brother to Berenice. Euergetes immediately proceeds to revenge the death of his Sister: For, “ out of a branch of her roots shall one stand up in his estate, which shall come with an army, and shall enter into the fortress of the king of the *north* and shall deal against them, and shall prevail: And shall also carry captives into Egypt their Gods, with their princes, and with their precious vessels of silver and of gold; and he shall continue more years than the king of the *north*. So the king of the South shall come into his kingdom, and shall return into his own land ” (v. 7 —9). Laodice, as we have seen, caused the death of Berenice and her Son: But Euergetes her brother revenged her death; “ for he not only slew Laodice, but also made himself master of all Syria and Cilicia, and then passing the Euphrates brought all under him as far as Babylon and the River Tigris, and would have subjugated to him all the other provinces of the

^a Prid. an. 216.

Syrian empire, but that a sedition arising in Egypt during his absence, called him back to suppress it... He marched back into Egypt, carrying with him vast treasures which he had gotten together in the plunder of the conquered provinces. For he brought from thence with him forty thousand talents of silver, a vast number of precious vessels of silver and gold, and images also to the number of two thousand five hundred, among which were many of the Egyptian idols, which Cambyses on his conquering Egypt carried thence into Persia... And this happened exactly as it was foretold by the prophet Daniel (xi. 7—9). For in that prophecy he tells us, that after the king's daughter of the *South* should with her son and her attendants be cut off, and he that strengthened her in those times, that is, her father who was her chief support, should be dead, *there should one arise out of a branch of her roots in his estate*, that is, Ptolemy Euergetes, who springing from the same root with her, as being her brother, did stand up in the estate of Ptolemy Philadelphus his father, whom he succeeded in his kingdom. And that he should come with an army, and enter into the fortress of the king of the *North*, and prevail against him, and should carry captive into Egypt the Gods of the Syrians, with their princes, and with their precious vessels of silver and gold, and so should come and return again into his own kingdom. And how exactly all this was fulfilled, what is above related doth sufficiently shew. It is also said in the same prophecy (v. 8.); That the king of the *South* on his return into his kingdom should continue more years than the king of the *North*, and so it happened: For Ptolemy Euergetes outlived Seleucus Callinicus four years. " °

° Prid. an. 246. and Usher, p. 357—8.

Callinicus after various turns of fortune was defeated and taken prisoner by Arsaces king of Parthia, where he died in consequence of a fall from his horse. But the successors of those Monarchs, whose kingdoms have been diminished, are ever ready to revenge and recover their losses, when they can find an opportunity. Accordingly the Sons of Callinicus prepared to regain what Euergetes had wrested from him: For "his sons shall be stirred up, and shall assemble a multitude of great forces: and one shall certainly come, and overflow, and pass through: then shall he return, and be stirred up, even to his fortress. And the king of the South shall be moved with choler, and shall come forth and fight with him, even with the king of the North: And he shall set forth a great multitude; but the multitude shall be given into his hand" (v. 10, 11). Now the Sons of Callinicus were Seleucus Ceraunus, and Antiochus Magnus. Ceraunus succeeded his father immediately; but his reign was only about two years: For "Nicanor and Apaturius, two of his chief commanders, conspired against him, while he lay in Phrygia, and by poison put an end to his life"^p The throne of Syria was immediately occupied by Antiochus Magnus the younger brother of Ceraunus, to whose reign much of this prophecy refers: And by reason of his many great actions he had the surname of Magnus, i. e. the Great. Not long after Antiochus Magnus had obtained the empire, he prepared to recover from Ptolemy Philopator, king of Egypt, what his father Callinicus had lost by Ptolemy Euergetes. Accordingly, after various successes, Magnus advanced to Raphia a "*fortress*" on the borders of

^p Prid. an. 223. Justin. L. 29. c. 1

Egypt, "*with a multitude of great forces*:" For he had seventy two thousand foot, six thousand horse, and one hundred and two Elephants. And here Philopator, "*the king of the South*"—Egypt—met him, with an army of seventy thousand foot, five thousand horse, and seventy-three Elephants. But Magnus was defeated with great loss; for when the battle seemed to be going against Philopator, his wife Arsinoe, who was also his sister, "went among the Soldiers, with her hair hanging about her ears, and crying to them, that they would stand to it, and in that battle defend their own wives and children; promising them, if they came conquerors out of the field, to give every of them two pounds in gold: whereby it came to pass, that the Soldiers took fresh courage, and slew their enemies down right, and took of them many prisoners... In this fight Antiochus Magnus lost little less than ten thousand of his foot, and upwards of three hundred horse: besides prisoners taken, above four thousand. Of his Elephants there were three killed in the fight, two died afterwards of their hurts."^a So that the multitude of Antiochus Magnus' forces was "*given into his—Philopator's—hand*."

This success tended much to elate Philopator: For "when he hath taken away the multitude, his heart shall be lifted up; and he shall cast down many ten thousands" (v. 12). He was so *elated*, or *lifted up in heart*, that he afterwards attempted to enter into the sanctuary of God's holy temple at Jerusalem, yea into the very Holy of Holies, into which the High Priest only, and that but once a year, was allowed to enter. This the Jews endeavoured very much to prevent; "But the king, the more he was opposed

^a Usher. an. p. 369. Prid. an. 217.

growing the more intent to have his will in this matter, pressed into the inner Court, but as he was passing further to go into the temple itself, he was smitten from God with such a terror and confusion of mind, that he was carried out of the place in a manner half dead; on this he departed from Jerusalem filled with great wrath against the whole nation of the Jews for that which happened to him in that place, and venting many threatnings against them."† His heart also was so *lifted up* that he pretended to derive his pedigree from Bacchus, and had himself marked with an ivy leaf in token of his devotedness to that God. Nor did he stop here, but "*cast down many ten thousands,*" both of his own people the Egyptians, and of the Jews. When he returned to Alexandria from Jerusalem, he resolved to revenge himself upon the Jews for resisting his visit to the Sanctuary of their temple. "And therefore he published, a decree, and caused it to be engraven on a pillar erected at the gates of his palace, whereby he forbade all to enter thither, that did not sacrifice to the Gods, which he worshipped, whereby he excluded the Jews from all access to him, either for the suing to him for justice, or the obtaining of his protection, in what case soever they should stand in need of it." Soon after he took a resolution of destroying all the Jews within his dominions; and for that purpose collected vast numbers of them at Alexandria, that they might be destroyed by his Elephants for the amusement of the people. But although his purpose was not effected, yet about three years afterwards *forty thousand* of the Jews were cut off in the civil war which arose between Philopator

† Prid. an. 217, 216.

and his own people. For the discontents of the Egyptians broke out into a civil war, in which Philopator obtained the advantage, and many of them were destroyed.*

But the success of Philopator over Antiochus Magnus at the battle of Raphia, and his *casting down of many ten thousands* of the Jews and of his rebellious subjects, will not avail to strengthen his empire: "For the king of the North shall return, and shall set forth a multitude greater than the former, and shall certainly come after certain years with a great army and with much riches. And in those times there shall many stand up against the king of the South: Also the robbers of thy people shall exalt themselves to establish the vision, but they shall fall. So the king of the North shall come, and cast up a mount, and take the most fenced cities; and the arms of the South shall not withstand, neither his chosen people, neither shall there be any strength to withstand. But he that cometh against him shall do according to his own will, and none shall stand before him. And he shall stand in the glorious land, which by his hand shall be consumed. He shall also set his face to enter with the strength of his whole kingdom, and upright ones with him; thus shall he do: And he shall give him the daughter of women corrupting her; but she shall not stand on his side, neither be for him" (v. 13—17).

Ptolemy Philopator reigned about seventeen years: the latter part of his life was given up to luxury, so much so that, Justin says, *he spent his nights in lewdness, and his days in feasts*. His body was naturally

* Prid. an. 216—13. Usher. an. p. 370—1.

strong, but by his intemperance and debaucheries he ended his life before he had lived out half its course. He was succeeded on the throne of Egypt by his son Ptolemy Epiphanes, a child of five years old, whom the people of Egypt placed under the protection of the Romans.¹ The childhood of Epiphanes afforded Antiochus Magnus king of Syria—the North—a favourable opportunity of renewing the war against Egypt: Accordingly “*after certain years,*” about fourteen from the battle of Raphia, he attacked Egypt with a multitude of forces “*greater than the former;*” i. e. greater than those which he had at that battle. At this time also many did “*stand up against the king of the South;*” i. e. against Epiphanes king of Egypt. For “Antiochus king of Syria, and Philip king of Macedon, hearing of the death of Philopator, entered into a wicked consultation together, how to share his kingdom between them two, encouraging one another to begin with the murder of the young king that was; Whereof Polybius in special speaketh in this wise: When Ptolemy the king was departed this life, Antiochus and Philippus laid their heads together, to share the estate of the young king between them, and began a wicked practice. Philip laying hands upon Egypt and Caria, and Antiochus upon Cœle-Syria and Phœnicia.” Justin also informs us that the Alexandrians, i. e. the Egyptians sought the protection of the Romans for their young king Epiphanes, because *Antiochus Magnus and Philip had divided his kingdom.*” The Etolians also, who were in the pay of the Egyptians, entered into a conspiracy against the kingdom under their general Scopas: and

¹ Justin. L. 30. c. 1, 2.

² Usher. an. p. 375. Justin, L. 30. c. 2.

the Jews also endeavoured to throw off the yoke of the young king Epiphanes. The Jews are here called "*the robbers of the people*;" but we would prefer Wintle's translation, viz, "*Also the perverse sons of thy people shall exalt themselves to establish the vision, but they shall fall.*" They made seditions and revolts against the Egyptian government; but still they were subdued. For "Scopas the general of Ptolemy's army, marching into the upper regions, subdued the nation of the Jews, in the winter season: Whereof Jerom also upon the eleventh of Daniel speaking, saith thus: . . . When Antiochus, held Judea, Scopas the Etolian was sent general of Ptolemy's forces, and fought valiantly against Antiochus, and took in Judea, and, carrying along with him the chief men of Ptolemy's party, returned into Egypt." *

But though the Jews were subdued by the arms of Epiphanes, yet his success was short: for "the king of the North shall come, and cast up a mount, and take the most fenced cities: And the arms of the South shall not withstand, neither his chosen people, neither shall there be any strength to withstand. But he that cometh against him shall do according to his own will, and none shall stand before him: And he shall stand in the glorious land which by his hand shall be consumed." (v. 15, 16). For though Scopas reduced Judea by force, yet "Antiochus Magnus, a while after, obtained a notable victory over Scopas at the head of the river Jordan, and recovered the places in Cœle-Syria and Samaria, which Scopas had got possession of before. The Jews upon this success surrendered themselves upon their own accord; received the army into their city; provided plentifully for

* Usher, an. p. 378. Josephus, L. 12. c. 3.

the Elephants, and valiantly assisted in the attack of the castle, where Scopas had left a body of men in garrison." Antiochus Magnus pursued Scopas to Sidon and there besieged him, "till at length he was forced by famine to surrender on terms of life only, and he and his men were sent thence stripped and naked." After this Magnus marched to and took Gaza, Betanea, Samaria, Abila, Gadera, and all other the remaining parts of Palestine and Cœle-Syria, and made himself wholly master of both the countries, and all the cities in them.* And thus did he "*take the most fenced cities,*" and "*do according to his own will;*" and the arms of Egypt—the South—could not withstand him. These successes gave Antiochus Magnus possession of Judea and Jerusalem, so that *he stood in the glorious land, which by his hand was consumed.* "For on his subduing Palestine, he entered into Judea, *the glorious land*, which was a part of Palestine, and there established his authority, and made it there firmly *to stand*, after he had expelled out of the castle of Jerusalem the garrison which Scopas had left there. But that garrison having made such resistance, that Antiochus was forced to go thither with all his army to reduce it, and the siege continuing some time, it happened thereby, that the country was eaten up, and *consumed* by the foraging of the Soldiers, and Jerusalem suffered such damage during the siege of the castle both from the besieged and the besiegers, that it was near ruined by it."† The words of Josephus will give us an excellent exposition of Judea, *the glorious land*, being *consumed* by the hand of Antiochus Magnus. "Under the reign of

* Josephus, L. 12. c. 3. Usher an. p. 379. Prid. an. 198.

† Prid. v. 2. p. 141.

Antiochus the Great, Asia, Judea, and Cœle-Syria, were never at rest; for Antiochus being at that time in actual hostility with *Philopator* Ptolemy, and his son Ptolémey, surnamed *Epiphanes*, whether side soever had the better of it, the Jews betwixt the prosperous and adverse fortune of Antiochus, were still sure to be sufferers, like a vessel in a storm at sea, that is battered and dashed betwixt two billows, as well on the one side as on the other: But Antiochus, in the end, prevailed, and made himself master of Judea.”²

As the ambition of Antiochus Magnus was great, so he exerted himself by all measures to secure the dominion of Egypt; and therefore he obtained a marriage between his daughter Cleopatra and Epiphanes: For “ he shall also set his face to enter with the strength of his whole kingdom, and upright ones with him; thus shall he do: And he shall give him the daughter of women corrupting her: but she shall not stand on his side, neither be for him” (v. 17). If we adopt Wintle’s translation of this verse, it will appear more distinct and clear: “ Moreover he shall form a design to invade with obstinate perseverance his whole kingdom, and proposals of alliance shall be with him, wherein he shall succeed, but though he shall give the chief of women to him, to make her corrupt, yet she shall not persist, nor be for him.” Now how exactly this was fulfilled history will shew: For Antiochus Magnus “ having brought all Cœle-Syria and Palestine in subjection to him, projected the doing of the same in lesser Asia, his grand aim being to restore the Syrian Empire to the full extent, in which it had been held by any of

² Jos. L. 12. c. 3.

his Ancestors, especially by Seleucus Nicator the founder of it. But to quiet the Egyptians, that they might not renew the war in Palestine and Cœle-Syria in his absence ; he sent Eucles of Rhodes to Alexandria, with *proposals of a marriage* between Cleopatra his daughter, and king Ptolemy, to be consummated as soon as they should be of an age fit for it, promising the restoration of those provinces on the day of the Nuptials by way of dower with the young princess, which offer was accepted and agreed to.”^a But his secret purpose in all this was to keep Egypt under his influence and power, by “*corrupting*” his daughter “with ill principles to betray her husband to him, and thereby make himself master of *Egypt* : For Jerom tells us, this match was made with this fraudulent design,”^b For “Antiochus purposing to get Egypt itself into his dominion espoused his daughter Cleopatra in the seventh year of the young man’s—Epiphanes’—reign, by one Eucles of Rhodes, and that in the thirteenth year of the same, according to Eusebeus’ Chronicle, or in the twelfth thereof, sent her to him ; and gave him for a dowry all Cœle-Syria and Judea, and yet could not get Egypt neither ; because Ptolemy and his council perceived his drift, and stood the more cautiously on their guard, *and Cleopatra herself the queen, stood more affected to her husband’s part than to her father’s.*”^c And here we see that Cleopatra the daughter of Antiochus did not “*stand on his side, neither be for him ;*” for when the Romans had driven him out of Europe, Ambassadors came from Cleopatra and Epiphanes to Rome, “to congratulate them for their expulsion of Antiochus out of Europe ; and

^a Frid. an. 198.^b Frid. v. 2. p. 142.^c Usher, an. p. 384.

persuading them to pass into Asia : for said they, the fear of the Roman name is already fallen, not only upon all Asia, but even upon Syria also; and shewing, *that they were ready to do, whatever the Romans would command them.*" ^d

As soon as Antiochus Magnus had arranged the marriage between his daughter Cleopatra, and young Epiphanes, he proceeded to "turn his face unto the isles, and shall take many" (v. 18). For early the next Spring he set "forward with a great fleet for the carrying on of his designs upon lesser Asia, and at the same time sent thither Ardyes and Mithradates, two of his sons, with a great army by land, ordering them to march to Sardis, and there tarry his coming to them... And having with his fleet sailed along the coasts of Cilicia, Pamphylia, Lycia, and Caria, took in a great many of the *maritime* cities of those provinces, and the *islands* adjoining; and at length coming round to Ephesus, seized that city, and there set up for his winter quarters." ^e But Antiochus Magnus was soon to receive a check, for a "prince for his own behalf shall cause the reproach offered by him to cease; without his own reproach he shall cause it to turn upon him" (v. 18). For whilst he was pursuing his projects upon Egypt, lesser Asia, and the adjacent islands, an embassy was sent to him by the Romans, which informed him that *he must abstain from Egypt the kingdom of their ward Epiphanes, who, by the entreaties of his father, had been committed to their care*: to this embassy Antiochus paid little regard, and another was sent to *insist upon the entire restitution of those cities which he had taken, but which by right of*

^d Usher, an. p. 387. Livy, q. 37. ^e Prid. an. 197.

war had become the Romans.^f But all this was resisted by him ; and war was therefore declared against him by the Romans, who in a short time after gave him a complete check and overthrow. " Antiochus' army according to Livy, consisted of seventy thousand foot, twelve thousand horse, and fifty four Elephants; whereas all the Roman forces amounted to no more than thirty thousand. Both armies met near Magnesia under mount Sipylus, and there it came to a decisive stroke between them, in which Antiochus receiving a total overthrow, lost fifty thousand foot, and four thousand horse slain upon the field of Battle, and fourteen hundred more taken prisoners, and he himself difficultly escaped to Sardis, gathering up in his way such of his forces as survived this terrible slaughter". . . Peace was then made between Antiochus and the Romans on these conditions, " That Antiochus should pay the whole expences of the war, and quit all Asia on that side mount Taurus; which being then accepted of, and the expences of the war estimated at fifteen thousand talents of Eubea, it was agreed that it should be paid in manner following, that is to say, five hundred talents present, two thousand five hundred when the Senate should ratify what was then agreed, and the rest in twelve years time at the rate of a thousand talents in each of those years." ^g

After this defeat, Antiochus Magnus returned to the "*fort of his own land,*" i. e. to Antioch: But his reign after this was short; for " he shall stumble and fall, and not be found " (v. 19). For " being at great difficulties, how to raise the money, which he was to pay the Romans, he marched into the Eastern provinces to gather the tribute of those coun-

^f Justin. L. 31. c. 1.

^g Prid. an. 190.

tries to enable him to pay it, leaving his Son Seleucus, whom he had declared his successor, to govern in Syria during his absence. On his coming into the province of Elymais, hearing that there was a great treasure in the temple of Jupiter Belus in that country, he seized the temple by night, and spoiled it of the riches that were laid up in it; whereon the people of the country rising upon him, for the revenging of this sacrilege, slew him and all that were with him. So Diodorus Siculus, Justin, Strabo, and Jerom relate the manner of his death; But Aurelius Victor tells us, that he was slain by some of his own followers, whom he did beat in a drunken fit, while at one of his carousals," ^b And thus did Antiochus Magnus "*stumble and fall*," and come to his end.

Seleucus Philopator succeeded his father Antiochus Magnus in the throne of Syria: But his reign was short, only continuing about eleven years; for Heliodorus his treasurer caused poison to be administered to him, of which he died. "The whole of this king's reign is expressed in the twentieth verse of the eleventh chapter of Daniel: For in that text it is foretold that after Antiochus the Great, who is spoken of in the foregoing verses, there should *stand up in his estate a raiser of taxes*. And Seleucus was no more than such all his time. For the whole business of his reign was to raise the thousand talents every year, which, by the treaty of peace, that his father made with the Romans, he was obliged for twelve years together annually to pay that people; and the last of those twelve years was the last of his life. For, as the same text saith, *That within a few years after he should be*

^b Prid. an. 187. Usher, an. p. 309.

*destroyed, and that neither in anger nor in battle; so accordingly it happened. For the Hebrew word Yamim, which in the English Bible is rendered Days, signifieth also years, and is put as often for the one, as the other. He reigned only eleven years, and his death was neither in battle nor in anger, that is neither in war abroad, nor in sedition or rebellion at home, but by the secret treachery of one of his own friends."*¹

The successor to Seleucus Philopator was his brother Antiochus Epiphanes, to whom the remainder of this prophecy chiefly refers. But we will here close this dissertation with just observing, how grievous it is to behold thousands and tens of thousands of human beings, in all ages of the world, sacrificed to the mad and wicked ambition of a very few men in power. But "whoso sheddeth man's blood, by man shall his blood be shed; for in the image of God made he man." (*Genesis*, ix. 6).

¹ Prid. an. 176.

Dissertation

15.

CHAPTER XI. *vs.* 21—45. and CHAPTER XII.

WE now come to the most important part of the Prophecy contained in the last three Chapters of the book of Daniel: The most important, because of its connexion with the history of the Jews, and its application to the history of the Church of Christ. In explaining the prophecy contained in the eighth Chapter, we shewed that the little horn, which is there described, signifies Antiochus Epiphanes: The same person is again brought forward, and occupies chiefly the remainder of the Chapter which we are now endeavouring to interpret.

Our last dissertation concluded with an account of the death of Seleucus Philopator, the raiser of taxes; whose reign was chiefly occupied in collecting money for the Romans, according to the treaty made with them by his father Antiochus Magnus. After the death of Philopator, his brother Antiochus Epiphanes

obtained possession of the throne: His character, and the manner in which he should succeed to the kingdom, are thus described by the Prophet. "And in his (Philopator's) estate shall stand up a vile person, to whom they shall not give the honour of the kingdom: but he shall come in peaceably, and obtain the kingdom by flatteries" (v. 21). He was to be *vile*; accordingly Polybius styles him *Epimanes*, or the *Frantick*, because of his foolish and mad practices. "He was much given to drunkenness, and spent a great part of his revenues in revellings and drunken carousals; and would often go out into the streets while in these frolics, and there scatter his money by handfuls among the rabble, crying out: *Let him take to whom fortune gives it.* Sometimes he would go abroad with a crown of roses upon his head; and wearing a Roman gown, would walk the streets alone, and carrying stones under his arms would throw them to those that should follow after him. And he would often wash himself in the public baths among the common people, and there expose himself by many absurd and ridiculous actions. Which odd and extravagant sort of conduct made many doubt how the matter stood with him; some thinking him a fool, and some a madman; the latter of these most thought to be his truest character, and therefore in stead of *Epiphanes*, or the *Illustrious*, they called him *Epimanes*, i. e. the *Madman*,"^k His succession to the throne, though he should gain it, was to be opposed; "to whom they shall not GIVE the honour of the kingdom: but he shall come in peaceably, and obtain the kingdom by flatteries; and with the arms of a flood

^k Usher's an. p. 409. Prid. v. 2. p. 154.

shall they be overflown from before him, and shall be broken." For, "on the death of Seleucus Philopator, Heliodorus, who had been the treacherous author of his death, endeavoured to seize the crown of Syria. Antiochus the brother of Seleucus was then on his return from Rome: While at Athens on his journey, he there heard of the death of his brother, and the attempt of Heliodorus to usurp the throne; and finding the Usurper had a great party with him to support him in his pretensions, and that there was another party also forming for Ptolemy, who made some claim to the succession in right of his mother, she being sister to the deceased king, and that both of them were agreed *not to give unto him*, though the next heir in the absence of Demetrius, *the honour of the kingdom*, as the holy prophet Daniel had foretold, he applied himself to Eumenes, king of Pergamus, and Attalus his brother; and, by *flattering speeches*, and great promises of friendship, prevailed with them to help him against Heliodorus. And by their means that Usurper being suppressed, he was quietly placed on the throne, and all submitted to him, and permitted him without any further opposition *peaceably* to obtain the Kingdom, as had been predicted of him in the same prophecy."¹

But it was not his own kingdom only which Antiochus should obtain; he should also break down "*the prince of the covenant*." The prince of the covenant is the Jewish High Priest; for the Jews were God's peculiar people by covenant. He made them his own people in an especial manner; for says he, "I swear unto thee, and entered into a *covenant* with thee, saith the Lord God, and thou becamest mine" (*Ezek.*

¹ Prid. v. 2. p. 153. Usher, p. 410.

xvi. 8). But Epiphanes deposed Onias the Jewish High Priest—the prince of the covenant; he sold the High Priesthood; and filled the office with whomsoever he chose. For, “as soon as Antiochus was settled in the kingdom, Jason, the brother of Onias, being ambitious of the High Priesthood, by under hand means applied to him for it, and by an offer of 360 talents, besides 80 more, which he promised on another account, obtained of him that Onias was displaced from the office, and he advanced to it in his stead. And at the same time procured that Onias was called to Antioch and confined to dwell there.”^m But Jason himself was soon supplanted; for he “sent Menelaus his brother to Antioch there to pay the king his tribute money, and also to treat with him about other matters, which he thought necessary to be done. But on his admission to audience, instead of pursuing his commission in the behalf of his brother, he treacherously supplanted him, and got into his place...offering more than Jason gave for it by three hundred talents.”ⁿ

Epiphanes was not long seated on his throne before he projected an attack upon the neighbouring kingdom of Egypt, though his measures required address and caution: For “after the league made with him, he shall work deceitfully; for he shall come up, and shall become strong with a small people. He shall enter peaceably even upon the fattest places of the province...And he shall forecast his devices against the strong holds, even for a time” (v. 23, 24). Now history will shew how accurately all this was fulfilled.

^m Prid. v. 2. p. 155.

ⁿ Prid. v. 2. p. 159.

For "Ptolemy Philometer (king of Egypt) being now fourteen years old, he was declared to be out of his minority; and thereon great preparations were made at Alexandria for his inthronization, as was usual there on this occasion. Hereon Antiochus sent Apollonius one of the prime nobles of his court, in an embassy thither, to be present at the solemnity, and to congratulate the young king thereon. This he did, in *outward pretence*, to express his respects to his Nephew, and shew him honour on this occasion; but, in *reality*, it was only to *spy* out how that court stood affected to him, and what measure they were purposing to take in reference to him, and the *contested provinces* of Cœle-Syria, and Palestine; and on the return of this ambassador to him, finding by his report that war was intended against him, he came by sea to Joppa to take a view of the frontiers towards Egypt, and to put them into a thorough posture of defence, against any attempts which the Egyptians might make upon them."• Here then we see Epiphanes' *deceitful working*; and the *forecasting* of his *devices*, against the *strong holds* of Egypt. But amidst all this he exhibited great liberality and profusion, far beyond his predecessors on the throne of Syria: For "he shall do that which his Fathers have not done, nor his Fathers' Fathers; he shall scatter among them the prey, and spoil, and riches" (v. 24). His two predecessors had been much occupied in raising money for the Romans; but he was able to scatter wealth and riches among his own people: For "he would scatter his money by handfuls among the rabble crying out; *Let him take, to whom fortune gives it . . .* He was on all occasions very magnificent and profuse in his gifts and donatives, frequently dealing out to

• Prid. v. 2. p. 159.

his followers, and others, vast sums with both hands, some times to good purposes, but oftener to none at all; which made good what the prophet Daniel foretold of him. That he should *scatter among his followers the prey, and the spoil, and riches*; and from hence he had the character of the magnanimous and the munificent. For in the liberal giving of gifts, we are told in the Maccabees (1. Mac. iii. 30.) that he abounded above all the kings that were before him." P

A war with Egypt being now certain, Epiphanes made due preparations for it: For "he shall stir up his power, and his courage against the king of the South with a great army: and the king of the South (Egypt) shall be stirred up to battle with a very great and mighty army; but he shall not stand. For they shall forecast devices against him; yea, they that feed of the portion of his meat shall destroy him, and his army shall overflow (shall be overflowed. Wintle.), and many shall fall down slain" (v. 25, 26). Accordingly Antiochus Epiphanes "having ever since the return of Apollonius from the Egyptian court been preparing for the war which he found he must necessarily have with Ptolemy about the provinces of Cœle-Syria and Palestine, and being now ready for it, resolved to defer it no longer, but instead of expecting the war in his own territories, determined to carry it into those of his enemy... He marched his army towards the frontiers of Egypt, where being met by the forces of Ptolemy between mount Casius and Palusium, it there came to a battle between them, in which Antiochus having gotten the victory, he took

P Prid. v. 2. p. 189.

care on the advantage of it well to fortify that border of his dominions, and to make the barrier in that quarter as strong as he could against any future attempt that Ptolemy might make upon these provinces, and then without attempting any thing further this year returned to Tyre, and there, and in the neighbouring cities put his army into winter quarters... Next year Epiphanes again invaded Egypt, the South, both by sea and land, and having on the frontiers gained another victory over the forces of Ptolemy, that were sent thither to oppose him, took Pelusium, and from thence made his way into the heart of the kingdom... Made himself master of Memphis, and all the other parts of Egypt, excepting Alexandria... And Philometor himself came into his hands." ^q And here we perceive that the king of the South, though *stirred up to battle with a very great and mighty army*, was not able to stand against Epiphanes; and his army was *overflowed*, and many fell down slain. Nor was it only by the power of Epiphanes that Philometor was overcome; he was also *betrayed*; "*For they that feed of the portion of his meat shall destroy him.*" This was accomplished by the revolt of Macron from Philometor, and by the treachery and mal-administration of Lenæus, Eulæus and other ministers and officers. For Macron, "being disgusted, either by some ill treatment from the ministry, or that his service was not rewarded according to his expectation, revolted from Philometor, and went over to Antiochus, and delivered the Island of Cyprus into his hands. Whereon Antiochus received him with great favour, admitted him into the number of his principal friends, and made him governor of Cœle-Syria and Palestine." ^r

^q Prid. v. 2. p. 164, and 166.

^r Prid. v. 2. p. 165

After Epiphanes had obtained this great success over Philometor, and had got him in his power, they both treated each other with great guile and dissimulation: for "both these king's hearts shall be to do mischief, and they shall speak lies at one table; but it shall not prosper: for yet the end shall be at the time appointed. Then shall he return into his land with great riches" (v. 27, 28). Now, though Antiochus had the possession of Philometor's person, yet he "took not from him his liberty, but they did eat at the same table, and conversed together as friends; and for some time Antiochus pretended to take care of the interests of this young king, his nephew, and to manage the affairs of the kingdom, as tutor and guardian to him. But when he had under this pretence made himself master of the country he seized all to himself, and having miserably pillaged all parts, where he came, vastly enriched himself and his army, with the spoil of them... The 27th verse had its completion in the meeting of Antiochus and Philometor at Memphis, where the two kings, both in the time of the second and of the third expedition of Antiochus into Egypt, did frequently eat at the same table, and conferred together seemingly as friends; Antiochus pretending to take upon him the care of the kingdom, for the interest of Philometor his Nephew, and Philometor pretending to confide in Antiochus as his Uncle, in all that he was thus doing. But both, herein, *spoke lies* to each other; for in *reality*, they both intended quite the contrary, Antiochus' design being, under the pretence above mentioned, to seize all Egypt to himself, and Philometor's to take the first opportunity to disappoint him of it, as accordingly

at length he did, by his agreement with his brother, and the Alexandrians.”* We may explain the 27th and 28th verses briefly from the Maccabees: “Now when the kingdom was established before Antiochus, he thought to reign over Egypt, that he might have the dominion of two realms. Wherefore he entered into Egypt, with a great multitude, with Chariots and Elephants and Horsemen and a great Navy: And made war against Ptolemy, king of Egypt, but Ptolemy was afraid of him and fled, and many were wounded to death. Thus they got the strong cities, in the land of Egypt, and he (Antiochus) took the spoil thereof.”†

And now heavy calamities began to come upon the Jews; for Antiochus’ “heart shall be against the holy covenant; and he shall do exploits, and return to his own land” (v. 28.). The occasion of this was as follows: A rumour was spread abroad that Antiochus was dead; and being informed that the people of Jerusalem greatly rejoiced at the intelligence, he was much incensed, “and went up against Israel and Jerusalem with a great multitude; and entered proudly into the Sanctuary; and took away the golden altar, and the candlestick of light, and all the vessels thereof: And the table of the shew-bread; and the pouring vessels; and the vials, and the censers of gold; and the veil and the crowns; and the golden ornaments, that were before the temple; all which he pulled off. He took also the silver and the gold, and the precious vessels; also he took the hidden treasures which he found. And when he had taken all away, he went into his own land, having made a great massacre, and spoken very proudly” (1 Mac. i. 20—24). He laid

* Prid. v. 2. p. 186, and 204.

† 1 Mac. i. 18,—19.

“siege to Jerusalem, and taking the city by force, he slew of the inhabitants, in three days time, forty thousand persons; and, having taken as many more captives, sold them for slaves to the neighbouring nations. And not content with this, he impiously forced himself into the temple, and entered into the inner and most sacred recesses of it, polluting by his presence, both the holy place, and also the holy of Holies... And to offer the greater indignity to this sacred place, and to affront in the highest manner, he was able, the religion, whereby God was worshipped in it, he sacrificed a great sow upon the altar of burnt offerings; and broth being by his command made with some part of the flesh thereof boiled in it, he caused it to be sprinkled all over the temple, for the utmost defiling of it. And after this having sacriligiously plundered it, by taking thence the altar of Incense, the shew-bread table, the candlestick of seven branches that stood in the holy place, which were all of gold, and several other golden vessels, utensils, and donatives of former kings, to the value of eighteen hundred talents of gold, and made the like plunder in the city, he returned to Antioch—“*his own land*”—carrying thither with him the spoils of Judea as well as of Egypt, which both together amounted to an immense treasure of riches.” v

After the return of Epiphanes to “*his own land*,” he was still intent upon the subjugation of Egypt: For “at the time appointed he shall return, and come toward the South—Egypt—but it shall not be as the former, or as the latter; for the ships of Chittim shall come against him” (v. 29, 30). The Egyptians having found that Ptolemy Philometor was now entirely

v Prid. v. 2. p. 167—8.

under the influence and power of Epiphanes, placed his younger brother Ptolemy Euergetes upon their throne. "Antiochus, on his hearing of this, laid hold of the occasion for his making a third expedition into Egypt, under *pretence* of restoring the deposed king, but in *reality* to subject the whole kingdom to himself; and therefore having vanquished the Alexandrians in a sea fight near Pelusium, he again entered the country with a great army, and marched directly towards Alexandria, to lay siege to the place."^u But, finding he was not able to obtain its possession, he for the present withdrew: But "early the next spring he sent a fleet to Cyprus to secure that Island to him, and at the same time, in person, marched by land, with a numerous army, to make another invasion upon Egypt, in which he purposed, without owning the interest of either of his Nephews, to suppress them both, and make an absolute conquest of the whole kingdom... And having subdued all the country as far as Memphis, and there received the submission of most of the rest, he marched towards Alexandria, for the besieging of that city, the reduction of which would have made him absolute master of the whole kingdom."^w But here he was again disappointed and baffled, by means of a Roman embassy: "*For the ships of Chittim shall come against him.*" Perhaps a quotation from Wells' Sacred Geography will best explain this part of our subject: "The place of Scripture where Chittim, by the consent of almost all expositors, denotes the Romans, is Daniel xi. 29, 30, For by the *Ships of Chittim* there mentioned, is generally understood the Roman fleet; by the coming whereof Antiochus was obliged to desist from his de-

^u Prid. v. 2. p. 169.^w Prid. v. 2. p. 171.

signs against Egypt. There are also several footsteps of the name Chittim, or Chetim, to be found in Italy, among ancient writers; as a city in Latium called Cetia, and mentioned by Dionysius Halicarnasseus; another city amongst the Volsci, called Echetia mentioned by Stephanus; also a river near Cumæ called Cetus, the water whereof was endowed as Aristotle relates, with a petrifying quality. Nay, there are not wanting authors who expressly assert the Romans and Latins to have had their extraction from the Citii, or Cetii; as Eusebius, Cedrenus, Suidas, whose testimonies are produced by the learned Bochart. And this learned person observes further that the very word Chetim, does in the Arabic tongue denote a thing hid. So that the name Latini, might be originally only a translation of the old Eastern name Chetim.* These Ships of Chittim — the Romans — came up just as Epiphanes was preparing to besiege Alexandria: For, during the time that Ptolemy Philometor was under the power of Epiphanes, his younger brother Ptolemy Euergetes, and his sister Cleopatra, sent ambassadors to the Romans to implore their aid. This aid the Romans were exceedingly willing to grant; and sent Caius Popilius Lænas, and two others, as ambassadors to Epiphanes, who should prevent him from making any further attempts upon Egypt. Popilius met Epiphanes at Leusine, about four miles from Alexandria, and presented to him the decree of the Roman Senate: He reads it, and says, he will consider with his friends what he shall do. But Popilius, with great firmness of mind, draws a ring in the sand, round Epiphanes, with a rod which he carried in his hand, and says; *"Before you remove out of this circle, give me an answer which I may convey to the Senate.* Anti-

* Well's Sacred Geography, v. 1. p. 70.

ochus, stupified at the firmness of the command, says, *I will do what the Senate determines*: Upon this Popilius gives to him his right hand, as to an ally and friend; and Epiphanes retires from Egypt.”¹ And thus was he baffled by the *Ships of Chittim*.

This repulse from the Romans exceedingly enraged Antiochus; and he immediately let loose his rage upon the unoffending Jews: For he marched his army under Apollonius to Jerusalem, and made himself master of it, without any difficulty; “for the gates were set open to him, by the treachery of a party he had made in the town; where he exercised great cruelty, and put a great many people to the sword, without distinction of friend or foe; pillaged the city, and carried the treasure away to Antioch.”² And this is exactly what the prophet predicts he would do: For “he shall be grieved and return, and have indignation against the holy covenant: so shall he do; he shall even return, and have intelligence with them that forsake the holy covenant. And arms shall stand on his part, and they shall pollute the sanctuary of strength, and shall take away the *daily sacrifice*, and they shall place the abomination that maketh desolate” (v. 30, 31). All this was effected chiefly by Apollonius one of Antiochus’ Generals, whom he sent with an army of twenty two thousand men against Jerusalem. “On his first arrival he carried himself peaceably, concealing his purpose, and forbearing all hostilities till the next Sabbath; but then, when the people were all assembled together in their synagogues . . . he let loose all his forces upon them, with command to slay all the men, and take captive the women and children to sell them for slaves; which they executed with the

¹ Livy, L. 44, 45.

² Jos. L. 12. c. 7.

utmost rigour and cruelty, slaying all the men they could light on, without shewing mercy to any, and filling the streets with blood. And, after this having spoiled the city of all its riches, they set it on fire in several places; demolished the houses; and pulled down the walls round about it: they then erected a strong fortress which commanded the approach to the temple, from whence the garrison Soldiers fell on all those that went up thither to worship, and shed their blood on every side of the Sanctuary, and defiled it with all manner of pollutions; so that from this time the temple became deserted and the *daily sacrifices omitted*, and none of the true servants of God durst any more go up thither to worship, till Judas after three years and an half, having recovered it out of the hands of the Heathen, purged the place of its pollutions, and by a new Dedication restored it again to its pristine use." ^a

Nor did Antiochus want means to assist him in his purposes against the Jews; for he found instruments among themselves: "*He shall even return, and have intelligence with them that forsake the holy covenant... and such as do wickedly against the covenant shall he corrupt by flatteries*" (v. 30, 32). Those who "*forsake the holy covenant and do wickedly*," are Samaritans and apostate Jews, who gave him their aid for the suppression of the worship of the true God. For as soon as he was returned to Antioch, "He wrote to his whole kingdom, that all should be one people, and every one should leave his laws: So all the heathen agreed according to the commandment of the king... And none did more readily run into this change than the Samaritans, who had formerly observed the Sab-

^a Prid. v. 2. p. 174.

baths, and other religious rites of the Jews. And the Samaritans were not the only Apostates, that forsook their God and his law on this trial: Many also of the Israelites consented to his religion, and sacrificed unto Idols and profaned the Sabbath. He had *intelligence* with them; for he sent *letters* to Jerusalem and the cities of Judah... that they should profane the Sabbaths and festival days; and pollute the Sanctuary and holy people; and set up altars and groves, and chapels of Idols; and sacrifice swine's flesh, and unclean beasts; and leave their children uncircumcised... to the end they might forget the law, and change all the ordinances. Then many of the people were gathered, who forsook the law; and they set up the *abomination of desolation*,—an idol, upon the altar,—and builded Idol altars throughout the cities of Juda on every side; and burned incense at the doors of their houses, and in the streets. And when they had rent in pieces the books of the law which they had found, they burnt them with fire.”^b

How Epiphanes, by force of arms, polluted the Sanctuary—the temple of Jerusalem: how he took away the daily sacrifice; And how he placed the abomination that maketh desolate, i. e. idols, and troops of idolatrous Soldiers with their ensigns, are matters which history clearly explains and proves. Josephus says; “The temple was wholly stripped and rifled; all the holy vessels and utensils taken away; the golden candlesticks, the golden altar, and the table of shew bread, as they called it. among the rest... The very hiding places where they concealed an immense mass of treasure, were all laid open and exposed, and not so much as any relicks left of this

^b 1 Mac. i. 41—56. Jos. L. 12. c. 7. Prid. an. 168.

prodigious wealth. And further to consummate the misery of these poor people. their *daily sacrifices* were forbidden, the city levelled with the ground, the inhabitants partly killed, partly carried away captives, together with their wives and children, to the number of ten thousand; their walls demolished, their stately edifices consumed by fire... They raised an altar in the temple, and sacrificed hogs upon it, in a most spiteful contradiction to the laws and constitutions of the Jews. They put all people to extremities who would not renounce the true God, and worship their Idols; and so, in all other cities and towns, they built temples and altars, for the daily sacrifice of swine's flesh. They made it grievously penal for any of the Jews to circumcise their children... And so it was in fine, that the greater part of the Jews either of their own accord, or for the fear of punishment, complied with the king's orders."*

But still there would be a remnant who would adhere to the true God; and resist Epiphanes in the midst of the most cruel persecutions: For "the people that do know their God shall be strong, and do exploits; And they that understand among the people shall instruct many" (v. 32, 33). This part of the prophecy was fulfilled in the history of the Maccabees. For they made a firm, and at last an effectual resistance against the plans of Epiphanes for the destruction of their religion. Matthias with his five sons—the Maccabees—began this resistance: For Matthias would often say to his sons, "How much more glorious it would be to fall a Sacrifice to the religion and laws of their country, than to linger out a miserable life at this servile rate. And when the

* Jos. L. 12. c. 7.

officers of Epiphanes urged him and his sons to *worship*, as the king commanded, Matthias told them that he never would submit, nor ever advise his sons to abandon the religion of their country. And when he and his sons saw a Jew sacrificing according to the king's way, they not only killed the Jew but the king's officer Apelles, with all his guards. They overturned the altar; and Matthias called to the people, with a loud voice; *As many of you as have any regard for your honor, or for your religion, follow me.* And immediately he and his sons with many of the people withdrew into the wilderness: Matthias soon collected a small army and took the field with them: And going round the cities of Judah, he pulled down all the heathen altars, and caused all uncircumcised male children to be circumcised, cut off all the Apostates that fell into his hands, and destroyed all the Persecutors wherever he came. He destroyed idolatry. and again re-established the true worship of God wherever he prevailed."

And not only did Matthias and his Sons do *exploits*, but they also *instructed* many: For as Epiphanes in his persecution had endeavoured to destroy all the copies of the law, so they endeavoured to restore them and to *instruct* the people out of them. "*They recovered the law out of the hands of the Gentiles, and out of the hand of kings*" (1 Mac. ii. 48). And they restored the service of the Synagogues, and caused the law to be read in them as had formerly been done. All those copies of the law which the heathen had gotten into their hands, and had not destroyed, Matthias, where ever he came made diligent search for, and thereby recovered several of them. Those which the heathen had not polluted were restored to their former use, the others might serve for the writing out

of other copies by them... After the death of Matthias, his Son Judas performed still greater *exploits*, and *instructed* many. For having gotten together an army he went round the cities of Judea, in the same manner as his Father had begun to do, destroying every where all utensils and implements of Idolatry, and cutting off in all places the heathen Idolaters, and all others who had apostatized to them; and hereby having delivered the true lovers of the *law*, wherever he came from all those that opposed them, for the better securing of them, from all such for the future, he fortified their towns, rebuilt their fortresses, and placed strong garrisons in them for their protection and defence; and hereby made himself strong and powerful in the land. He vanquished and slew Apollonius, Epiphanes' General, and made a great slaughter of his forces, and took their spoils: And in like manner he overcame Seron, who vainly hoped to revenge the defeat of Apollonius.^d He also recovered and purified the temple at Jerusalem; and restored the worship of the one living and true God.

But still, during these successes, many of the pious Jews should suffer grievous persecutions: For "they shall fall by the sword, and by flame, by captivity, and by spoil, many days. Now when they shall fall, they shall be holpen with a little help; but many shall cleave to them with flatteries. And some of them of understanding shall fall, to try them, and to purge, and to make them white, even to the time of the end; because it is yet for a time appointed" (v. 33, 35). In explaining the eighth chapter, we have at con-

^dJos. L. 12. c. 8. Prid. an. 163,—6.

siderable length detailed these persecutions and sufferings: We shall not, therefore, repeat what is there stated, but briefly describe them. "Antiochus hearing that his commands did not meet with such a thorough conformity to them in Judea, as in other places, came thither in person further to enforce the observance of them; and for the accomplishing hereof executed very great cruelties on all non-apostatizing Jews, that fell into his hands, hoping thereby to terrify all the rest into a compliance; and on this occasion happened the martyrdom of Eleazer, and of the Mother and her seven Sons."* Of this martyrdom Josephus says; "O doleful day, and yet not doleful but rather glorious, when the merciless Grecian Tyrant kindled his impious fires, heated his murdering cauldrons, and with ungodly rage, more hot and fierce than both, dragged and bound to the engines of torture, and exercised with all manner of agonies and pains, the seven-fold-offspring of this daughter of Abraham! When he bored out their eyes, cut out their tongues, and put them to death, with all the studied cruelties that wickedness and malice could invent."† During these persecutions the Jews were "*holpen with a little help,*" as we have seen, by means of Matthias and his Sons, especially Judas: For they went round about and pulled down the altars... they pursued also after the proud men, and the work prospered in their hand" (1 Mac. ii. 45, 7). And as for Judas, He "went through the cities of Juda, destroying the ungodly out of them... So that he was renowned unto the utmost part of the earth, and he received unto him such as were ready to perish" (1 Mac. iii. 8, 9). But the Jews were not all sincere

* Prid. v. 2. p. 180.

† Jos. de. Mac.

and firm in their attachment to their law; for "*many shall cleave unto them with flatteries:*" Many of the Israelites conformed to Antiochus' religion, and sacrificed unto idols and profaned the sabbath. And, after his death, instead of uniting with Judas, several offered their allegiance to his Son: For "*some ungodly men of Israel joined themselves; and they went unto the king, and said, How long will it be ere thou execute judgment, and avenge our brethren? We have been willing to serve thy father, and to do as he would have us, and to obey his commands... wherefore if thou dost not prevent them quickly, they will do greater things than these, neither shalt thou be able to rule them*" (1 Mac. vi. 21, 3, 7). But all these persecutions against the pious Jews, and the defection of those who were wicked, were made to serve a good purpose: they served to *try* who were sincere, and to *purge* and purify them; that it might be clear who they were that served God, and who they were that served him not.

The Prophet still proceeds to describe the *kind* of Persecution which Epiphanes should carry on against the worship and servants of the true God: For "*the king shall do according to his will; and he shall exalt himself, and magnify himself above every God, and shall speak marvellous things against the God of Gods, and shall prosper till the indignation be accomplished; for that that is determined shall be done. Neither shall he regard the God of his fathers, nor the desire of women, nor regard any God; for he shall magnify himself above all*" (v. 36, 37). We have already seen the conduct of Epiphanes towards the God of Gods, in destroying his temple; polluting

his sanctuary; and in abolishing the sacrifices which were offered to him: And that he magnified himself above every God, not even regarding the God of his fathers, is evident from his sacrilegious conduct towards *other temples* as well as that of Jerusalem. "For Antiochus Epiphanes issued out a decree that *all nations* within his dominions, leaving their *former* rites and usages, should conform to the religion of the king, and worship the same Gods, and in the same manner as he did." He "wrote to his whole kingdom that all should be one people, and every one should *leave his laws*: so all the heathen agreed according to the commandment of the king."^s And, a little before his death, he marched "into Persia to gather up the arrears of tribute which were there due to him; and being told, that the city of Elymais in that country, was greatly renowned for its riches both of gold and silver, and that there was in it a temple of Diana, in which were vast treasures, he marched thither with intent to take the city, and spoil that and the temple in it, in the same manner as he had done at Jerusalem."^h Nor did Epiphanes in his persecution regard the "*desire of women*:" He spared no sex; but destroyed women with as little reluctance as men. For "they put to death *certain women*, that had caused their children to be circumcised; and they hanged the infants about their necks, and rifled their houses, and slew them that had circumcised them" (1 Mac. i. 60—1). Also "seven brethren, with their *mother*, were taken, and compelled by the King against the law to taste swine's flesh, and were tormented with scourges and whips" (2 Mac. vii. 1); And were put to death in the most barbarous manner.

^s Prid. v. 2. p. 176. 1 Mac. i. 41—2.

^h Prid. v. 2. p. 200.

But though Epiphanes did thus destroy the worship of the true God, and persecute his people, and in fact "*magnify himself above all;*" yet "in his estate (in his stead) shall he honour the God of forces: And a God whom his fathers knew not shall he honour with gold, and silver, and with precious stones, and pleasant things. Thus shall he do in the most strong holds with a strange God, whom he shall acknowledge and increase with glory: And he shall cause them to rule over many, and shall divide the land for gain" (v. 38, 9). The God of forces, or Mahuzzim, signifies *Gods the protectors*; and these did Epiphanes honour, both at Jerusalem and Samaria, after he had abolished the worship of the true God: for "having expelled the Jewish worship out of the temple, they introduced the heathen in its stead; and consecrating it to the chief of their false Gods, called it the temple of Jupiter Olympias; and having erected his image upon one part of the altar of holocaust, that stood in the inner court of the temple, upon another part of it just before that image, they built another lesser altar, whereon they sacrificed to him... And they did the same to the Samaritan temple on mount Gerizim, consecrating it to the same *Grecian* God Jupiter, by the name of Jupiter the PROTECTOR OF STRANGERS." Epiphanes "sent an old man to Athens to compel the Jews to depart from the laws of their fathers, and not to live after the laws of God: and to pollute also the temple in Jerusalem, and to call it the temple of Jupiter Olympias, and that in Gerizim of Jupiter the DEFENDER OF STRANGERS."¹ And those who obeyed his commands, and gratified his

¹ Prid. v. 2. p. 178. 2 Mac. vi. 1, 2.

wishes respecting idolatry, Epiphanes honoured and rewarded; for "*he shall cause them to rule over many, and he shall divide the land for gain.*" For thus do his officers speak to Matthias: "Now therefore come thou first, and fulfil the king's commandment, like as all the heathen have done, yea, and the men of Juda also, and such as remain at Jerusalem; *So shalt thou and thy house be in the number of the king's friends; and thou and thy children shall be honoured with silver and gold, and many rewards.*" The orders which Epiphanes gave to Lysias were; "To destroy and root out the strength of Israel, and the remnant of Jerusalem, and to take away their memorial from that place; and that he should place strangers in all their quarters, *and divide their land by lot.*" And, by the hope of riches, he endeavoured to persuade the youngest of the seven martyred young men to idolatry: For whilst the youngest was yet alive he did not only exhort him by words, "but also assured him with oaths, that he would make him both a *rich* and a *happy man*, if he would turn from the laws of his fathers; and also he would take him for his friend, and trust him with affairs."^k

The prophet having now described the persecutions which the Jews were to suffer from Epiphanes returns more immediately to the tyrant himself and his contest with Egypt: For "at the time of the end shall the king of the South push at him: And the king of the North, shall come against him like a whirlwind, with chariots, and with horsemen, and with many ships; and he shall enter into the countries, and shall overflow and pass over. He shall enter also into the glorious land, and many countries shall be overthrown:

^k 1 Mac. ii. 18. and iii. 35, 6 2 Mac. vii. 24.

but these shall escape out of his hand, even Edom and Moab, and the chief of the children of Ammon. He shall stretch forth his hand also upon the countries: and the land of Egypt shall not escape. But he shall have power over the treasures of gold and of silver, and over all the precious things of Egypt: and the Lybians and Ethiopians shall be at his steps" (v. 40, —3). Now, "*at the time of the end,*" the time appointed by God, the King of the South,—Egypt,—shall *push* at Epiphanes the king of the North: For "Ptolemy Philometor, now roused from his luxurious sloth by the misfortunes which he had suffered in these revolutions, had penetration enough to see into what Antiochus intended. His keeping of Pelusium was a sufficient indication unto him that he held this gate of Egypt still in his power, only to enter through it again when he and his brother should have wasted themselves so far, by their domestic feuds, as not to be able to resist him, and so make a prey of both. And, therefore, for the preventing of this, as soon as Antiochus was gone, he sent to his brother to invite him to an accommodation, and by the means of Cleopatra, who was sister to both, an agreement was made upon terms that the two brothers should jointly reign together. Whereon Philometor returning to Alexandria, peace was restored to Egypt, much to the satisfaction of the people... But the two brothers, being aware that Antiochus would return again upon them, sent ambassadors into Greece to get auxiliary forces from thence for their defence against him; and they had reason enough so to do:"¹ For Epiphanes immediately prepared to subjugate completely the king of

¹ Prid. v. 2. p. 171.

the South ; For, " hearing of this agreement of the two brothers, and finding his fine spun scheme of policy, whereby he thought to have made himself master of Egypt, wholly baffled by it, he fell into a great rage ; and resolved to carry on the war, against both the brothers, with greater force and fury than he had against either of them before. And, therefore, very early the next spring, he sent a fleet to Cyprus to secure that Island to him, and at the same time in person marched by land with a numerous army to make another invasion upon Egypt, in which he purposed, without owning the interest of either of his nephews, to suppress them both, and make an absolute conquest of the whole kingdom." ^m And thus the king of the North came against the king of the South, "*like a whirlwind, with chariots, and with horsemen, and with many ships.*" He also entered into the countries, and did overflow and pass over : For he pushed into Egypt with his army ; "and having subdued all the country as far as Memphis, and there received the submission of most of the rest, he marched towards Alexandria for the besieging of that city, the reduction of which would have made him absolute master of the whole kingdom ; and this most certainly he would have accomplished, but that he met a Roman embassy in his way, which put a stop to his further progress," ⁿ

But, fierce as was his attack, yet it was baffled, as we have seen, by the Roman ambassadors, who were represented by the ships of Chittim. But since Epiphanes could not prevail against Egypt, he directed his vengeance against the Jews ; for "*he shall enter into the glorious land, and many countries shall be*

^m Prid. v. 2. p. 171.

ⁿ Idem 172.

overthrown." The desolation and sufferings which Epiphanes brought upon the Jews have been detailed and explained, they need not, therefore, be repeated. Many of the people remained firm in their resistance to idolatry, and hence suffered grievously: But not so with the people of Edom, and Moab, and the chief of the children of Ammon; for "*these shall escape out of his hand.*" These agreed to the wishes of Epiphanes respecting idolatry, and became his friends and supporters: For "*all the heathen agreed according to the commandment of the king*" (1 Mac. i. 42): The people of Edom, Moab, and Ammon, as is clear from the 1 Mac. v. were united with Epiphanes against the Jews, purposing with him to effect the destruction of the whole race of Israel: and, by this union, they escaped the evils which he inflicted on the Jews, though afterwards they themselves were defeated by Judas. For "when they thought to destroy the generation of Jacob that was among them, and thereupon they began to slay and destroy the people. Then Judas fought against the children of Esau in Idumea at Arabattine, because they besieged Israel: And he gave them a great overthrow, and abated their courage and took their spoils" (1 Mac. v. 2, 3.). That the land of Egypt did not escape the oppression of Epiphanes, and that he had power over the treasures of gold and of silver, and over all the precious things of Egypt, has been abundantly proved in the progress of this dissertation. And, as to the Libyans and Ethiopians being at his steps, we can have no doubt that many of them were in his armies, and united with him in his wars. For when Lysias, Epiphanes' general, advanced against the Jews; "there came over to him great numbers of auxiliaries from Syria, and other neighbouring countries, ... besides several mer-

chants and traders, with a great deal of money about them to buy slaves; who brought fetters also and manacles with them of all sorts to secure their prisoners."°

But however Tyrants, for a while, may be permitted to flourish, yet their end is generally marked by the particular displeasure of God. They may, for a time, be allowed to gratify their inordinate and wicked passions, but their end is destruction. This was signally exemplified in Epiphanes; for in the midst of the cruel persecutions, which he carried on against the Jews, he was hastening to ruin: For "tidings out of the East and out of the North shall trouble him; therefore he shall go out with great fury to destroy, and utterly to make away many. And he shall plant the tabernacles of his palaces between the seas, in the glorious holy mountain: yet he shall come to his end, and none shall help him" (v. 44, 45).

He did indeed "*plant the tabernacles of his palaces between the seas in the glorious holy mountain.*" For he planted "his absolute regal authority in Jerusalem, which stood in a mountainous situation between the *Mediterranean sea* and the sea of *Sodom*; for it was built in the midway betwixt both on the mountains of Judea." P But "*tidings out of the East and out of the North shall trouble him: And therefore he shall go forth with great fury to destroy, and utterly to make away many.*" "For in the *North*, Artaxias king of Armenia his tributary had revolted from him; and in *Persia* which was in the *East*, his taxes were no more duly paid. For there as well as in other parts of his empire, a failure herein was caused by reason

° Jos. L. 12. c. 11.

P Trid. v. 2. p. 205.

of the dissension and plague, which he had brought upon them by taking away the laws, which had been of old time among them, out of fond desire of bringing all to an uniformity with the Greeks... And, therefore, for the remedying of this, as well as other inconveniences, which then perplexed his affairs, he resolved to divide his army into two parts, and to leave one of them with Lysias, a nobleman of the Royal family, to subdue the *Jews*; and with the other to march himself first into *Armenia*, and afterwards into *Persia*, for the restoring of his affairs in those countries. And accordingly... He passed over mount Taurus into Armenia,—the *North*—and having vanquished Artaxias, and taken him prisoner, marched thence into Persia—the *East*—hoping that by taking the tribute of that rich country and the other provinces of the East, for which they were in arrear to him, he should gather money sufficient, wherewith to repair all the deficiencies of his treasury, and thereby restore all his other affairs to their former order and prosperity.”

But still Epiphanes “*shall come to his end, and none shall help him.*” “For on his passing into Persia to gather up the arrears of tribute, which were there due to him, being told that the city of Elymais in that country was greatly renowned for its riches both of gold and silver, and that there was in it a temple of Diana, in which were vast treasures, he marched thither with intent to take the city, and spoil that and the temple in it, in the same manner as he had done at Jerusalem. But the people of the country and inhabitants of the city, beat him off with shame and confusion, and he retired to Ecbatana in Media greatly grieved for this baffle and disappointment. On his arrival

¶ Prid. v. 2. p. 190.

thither news came to him of the defeat of his armies in Judea; which so enraged him that he hastened back with all speed to execute his utmost wrath upon the Jews, and to extirpate them. In his journey he met other Messengers, who informed him how the Jews had defeated Lysias, recovered the temple of Jerusalem; pulled down the images and altars, which he had there erected; and restored that place to its former worship. This so enraged him that he vowed he would make Jerusalem, the *sepulture of the Jewish nation, and destroy them to a man*. But while these proud words were in his mouth the judgments of God overtook him; for he was immediately smitten with an incurable plague in his bowels and inward parts, which nothing could abate. Still he drove onward most furiously; when, his chariot being overturned, he was cast to the ground with such violence, that he was sorely bruised and hurt in all the members of his body, and was taken to a town called Tabæ, lying in the mountains of Parætacene in the confines of Persia and Babylonia, where he took himself to his bed and suffered horrid torments both in body and mind. For in his body a filthy ulcer broke out in his *secret parts*, wherein were bred an innumerable quantity of vermin continually flowing from it; and such a stench proceeded from the same, which neither himself nor his attendants could endure; and in this state he lay languishing and rotting till he died. And all this while the torments of his mind were as great as the torments of his body, caused by his remorse for his former conduct... Nor can I forbear here remarking that most of the great Persecutors have died the like death, by being smitten of God in the *secret parts*. Thus died Herod the great Persecutor of Christ and the infants at Bethlehem; and thus died

Galerius Maximianus the author of the tenth and greatest persecution against the first Christians; and thus also died Philip the second, king of Spain, as infamous for the cruelty of his persecutions, and the numbers destroyed by them, as any of the other three." ^r

The death of Antiochus Epiphanes, who, as we have shewn, came to his *end*, without any being able to *help* him, afforded relief to the Jews: For "at that time shall Michael stand up, the great prince which standeth for the children of thy people: And there shall be a time of trouble, such as never was since there was a nation even to that same time: And at that time thy people shall be delivered, every one that shall be found written in the book" (xii. 1). The arms of the Jews triumphed under Judas: He followed up the success which he had gained against the forces of Epiphanes, and defeated those of his Son and successor Antiochus Eupator. For though both Epiphanes and Eupator brought vast armies against the Jews, yet they were defeated with disgrace and immense loss. For Judas "hearing how the neighbouring nations of the heathens had confederated to destroy the whole race of Israel, and had already begun it, by cutting off as many of them as were within their power... he marched out with his forces to be revenged on them; and, whereas, the Edomites had been the most forward in this conspiracy, and having joined with Gorgias, who was governor for the king of Syria, in the parts thereabouts, had done them much mischief, he began first with them; and having fallen into that part of their country, which was called Acrabattene, he there slew of them, no fewer than

^r Prid. v. 2. p. 202. Usher's an. p. 443. Josep. L. 12, c. 13.

twenty thousand men... After this Judas passed over Jordan, into the land of the Ammonites, where he had many conflicts with the enemies of the Jews, and, having slain great numbers of them, took Jazar, with the villages belonging thereto, and then returned into Judea. The successes obtained by Judas greatly exasperated Lysias, who raised an army of eighty thousand men, with all the horse of the kingdom, and eighty elephants, and marched with all this power to invade Judea, purposing to make Jerusalem an habitation for the Gentiles, and to make a gain of the temple, as of the other temples of the heathens, and to set the High-priesthood to sale; and being entered the country, he begun the war with the siege of Bethsura... But there Judas falling upon him, slew of his army eleven thousand foot, and sixteen hundred horsemen, and put all the rest to flight. Upon this, Lysias made peace with Judas and his people, which peace Eupator ratified... By the terms of this peace, the decree of Epiphanes for the obliging of the Jews to conform to the religion of the Greeks, was wholly rescinded, and liberty was granted them every where to live *according to their own laws*."* And thus were the *people delivered*, when Michael the *great prince* of the Jews stood up for their defence and safety. "And many of them that sleep in the dust of the earth shall awake, some to everlasting life, and some to shame and everlasting contempt. And they that be wise shall shine as the brightness of the firmament and they that turn many to righteousness, as the stars for ever and ever" (xii. 2, 3): i. e. many of those that are in mean and abject situations, and are reduced to great extremities, by Antiochus' tyranny, shall rise from their oppressed condition: some on account of their adherence

* Prid. an. 164, 3.

to the law of God, and their regard for the truth, shall enjoy everlasting fame in this world, *and everlasting life in the world to come*; but others on account of their sins, shall be held in everlasting contempt by men, *and be doomed to everlasting punishment by God*. Such as Matthias, Judas, and the woman and her Sons, who stood firm to the law of God, shall obtain everlasting fame, and eternal life at the resurrection: But those who forsook the law and became idolaters, shall suffer everlasting infamy and death.

But still *some* obscurity was to rest upon and hang over this prophecy though revealed so extensively and particularly: Daniel was not perfectly to understand it; for says the Angel, "Thou, O Daniel, shut up the words and seal the book even to the time of the end: Many shall run to and fro, and knowledge shall be increased" (v. 4). But events would unfold the prophecy; and those who lived after its completion would perceive how God had fulfilled it. As if the angel had said: And now O Daniel, I have told thee those things which thou wast anxious to know, and the revelation of which is given in answer to thy fasting and prayer; rest, therefore, contented with what thou hast heard, and treasure it up for the use of God's people against the time of these things being fulfilled: For as these events draw near their accomplishment many shall diligently seek to know when and how they will happen, and knowledge respecting them shall be increased.

We have now traced Antiochus Epiphanes, the great enemy and persecutor of the Jews, from his ascending the throne of Syria to his miserable end; and we have seen this prophecy receive its completion

in him. But still Daniel receives further information as to the **TIME**, during which the Jews should suffer such heavy calamities. And he receives this information not as before from the Angel Gabriel, but from the man clothed in linen, whom we have already shewn to be the Son of God. "And I heard the man clothed in linen, which was upon the waters of the river, when he held up his right hand and his left hand unto heaven, and sware by him that liveth forever, that it shall be for *a time, times, and an half*; and when he shall have accomplished to scatter the power of the holy people, all these things shall be finished" (v. 7). Now this period of "*a time, times, and an half*" occurs also in Chapter seventh, v. 25: And we have there applied it to the *duration* of the power of the Popedom; during which time the Popedom should persecute the Saints of the Most High. But in this place we apply this period *primarily* to the duration of the persecution waged by Epiphanes against the Jews; and *ultimately* to the duration of the persecution waged by Antichrist—the Popedom—against the opposers of its idolatries. This method of applying the "*time, times, and an half*," is not without its difficulties; but from a review of the various methods which have been employed in explaining this prophecy, it appears the most simple and easy; because the "*time, times, and an half*," evidently form part of the one thousand two hundred and ninety days, and of the one thousand three hundred and thirty five days mentioned in verses the 11th and 12th. But as the "*time, times, and an half*," is a *figurative* mode of speech; and the one thousand two hundred and ninety, and the one thousand three hundred and thirty five days a *literal* mode, I think the most simple method of interpretation is to apply the *duration* of

these times *primarily* to Epiphanes, but *ultimately* to Antichrist—the Popedom.

“One particular mentioned in these prophecies of Daniel, and fulfilled under Antiochus, is especially taken notice of as typifying in him, what was to happen under Antichrist in after times, that is, the profanation of the temple at Jerusalem, and the ceasing of the daily sacrifices in it. This, Daniel said, was to continue for a “*time, times, and an half*,” i. e. three years and an half, a time in that place signifying a year, and times two years, and an half of a time, an half year, as all agree; And so long Josephus tells us the profanation of the temple, and the interruption of the daily sacrifices in it lasted, i. e. *from the coming of Apollonius and his profanation* of the said temple, to the purifying of it, and the new dedication of that and the new altar in it by Judas Maccabæus. This prophecy, therefore, was *primarily* and *typically* fulfilled in that profanation and new dedication of the temple and altar at Jerusalem; but its chief and ultimate completion was to be in that profanation of the church of Christ, which it was to suffer under the reign of Antichrist for the space of those one thousand two hundred and sixty days mentioned in the Revelations. For those days there signify so many years, and three years and an half, reckoning them by months of thirty days length, make just one thousand two hundred and sixty days. These days, therefore, *literally* understood, make the three years and an half, during which the profanation and persecution of Antiochus remained in the church of the Jews; and the same *mystically* understood make the one thousand two hundred and sixty years during which the profa-

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nation and persecution of Antichrist was to remain in the church of Christ, at the end whereof the church of Christ is to be cleansed, and purified of all the profanations, and pollutions of Antichrist, in the same manner as at the end of three years and an half the temple at Jerusalem was cleansed, and purified from all the profanations, and pollutions of Antiochus."[†]

But in the 11th and 12th verses a further extension of thirty, and of seventy five days, is given to the period of a "time, times, and an half": For "from the time that the daily sacrifice shall be taken away, and the abomination that maketh desolate set up, there shall be a thousand two hundred and ninety days. Blessed is he that waiteth and cometh to the thousand three hundred and five and thirty days" (v. 11, 12). Now, as he would be blessed who saw the one thousand three hundred and thirty five days, we may infer that the Jews would enjoy still greater prosperity at that time, than at the end of the one thousand two hundred and sixty days: And though we cannot fix upon any particular events, which took place precisely at the expiration of the one thousand two hundred and ninety or the one thousand three hundred and thirty five days, of a very prosperous nature; yet the prophecy evidently received an accomplishment in the success which attended the arms of the Maccabees *after* the purification of the temple, i. e. *after* the expiration of the one thousand two hundred and sixty days. It evidently appears most reasonable to connect *the taking away of the daily sacrifice*, mentioned in Chapter xii, v. 11, with *the taking away of the daily sacrifice*, mentioned in Chapter xi, v. 31; for they are but one and the

[†] Frid. v. 2 p. 208, Jos. L. 12. c. 11.

same prophecy: But the prophecy in Chapter xi. v. 31. was fulfilled in Epiphanes; therefore the prophecy in Chapter xii. v. 11. was fulfilled in him. And hence it seems most reasonable to understand also the two numbers one thousand two hundred and ninety and one thousand three hundred and thirty five, as applying to what happened to the Jews in those times of Epiphanes. "Namely, whereas in the vision related Ch. viii. it was said v. 13, 14, that *the vision concerning the daily sacrifice, &c.*, should be *unto* two thousand three hundred *days*, which is somewhat above six years and a quarter; lest this number of days should be so misunderstood, as that it should be thought, that thereby was foretold that the *time, during which* the daily sacrifice should be taken away, should be *above six years*: to prevent, I say, any such mistake, the angel here more plainly informs Daniel, that, *from the taking away of the daily sacrifice &c.*, should be only one thousand two hundred and ninety days, or about *three years and an half* at the most, to the time that the Jews should be delivered from the said calamities; and that in one thousand three hundred and thirty five days, or forty five days more than afore, the Jews should be restored to so good a posture of affairs, as to be able to defend their temple from their enemies, and so to be freed from any great fear of undergoing the like calamities. And surely this was very material for the Jews to be acquainted with *before-hand*, as being matter of very great comfort to them, that, *the taking away of the daily sacrifice*, should be for *a less time by half* (wanting a very small matter) than they might have apprehended from the other pro-

phency Chap. viii. 13. 14. that it should have continued."

We have already stated that we consider Epiphanes to be a type of the Popedom; could we then determine the date from which Popery should be dated, we should then be able to ascertain the time of its destruction. Various dates have been assigned for this purpose; but the year six hundred and six seems most probable, when the Emperor Phocas gave to the Bishop of Rome the title of **UNIVERSAL BISHOP**. If this be the true date, the one thousand three hundred and thirty five typical days, i. e. one thousand three hundred and thirty five years, added to six hundred and six, will come nearly down to the year of our Lord two thousand, when, or *before* which time, we may hope and believe that a very great and glorious reformation will take place throughout the earth; When the Christian church shall be purified from all the Idolatries of Popery, the Mahometans converted to Christianity, and the Jewish and heathen nations shall be all united in the Faith of Christ, the true Messiah and only Saviour of the world.

But these things will not be fully understood till after the accomplishment: And this is evidently implied when it is said (v. 8. 9), "*And I heard, but I understood not: then said I, O my Lord, what shall be the end of these things? And he said, Go thy way Daniel; for the words are closed up and sealed till the time of the end.*" Some obscurity is intended; but it is an obscurity which time will explain. Nor ought we to wonder at this, since Daniel himself needed explanation from an angel of his own visions; and the

▼ Wells on Dan. c. 12.

explanation, which is given by the man clothed in linen, is shaded by obscurity, for he says, "*Go thou thy way till the end be: For thou shalt rest and stand in thy lot at the end of the days*" (v. 13). And here we have not only an indication that some obscurity would rest upon the prophecy till the time of its fulfilment, but also an allusion and reference to the day of judgment, when "we must all appear before the judgment seat of Christ; that every one may receive the things done in his body, according to that he hath done, whether it be good or bad" (2 Cor. v. 10). Nor only is a day of judgment referred to, but also of a resurrection: For "we shall not all sleep, but we shall all be changed, in a moment, in the twinkling of an eye, at the last trump: for the trumpet shall sound, and the dead shall be raised incorruptible, and we shall be changed" (1 Cor. xv. 51—2). So that the doctrines of a resurrection and a day of judgment, or in other words, of a future state of happiness and misery, are here in Daniel clearly revealed. The old, as well as the new Testament, teaches us these important truths, which are intended to have a practical effect upon our tempers, lives, and manners.

The book of Daniel ends with subjects of the most serious and practical nature; subjects, in which he himself, and all other men, were most deeply interested, For however favoured he had been with visions, in which the history of the world and of God's church was placed, as in a picture before him; yet this did not render it less necessary for him to *prepare* to meet his God than other men. He was to stand *in his lot at the end of the days*; for God will render to every man according to his *works*, and not according to his *knowledge*. Knowledge can never free us from the obligations of the practice of Piety: In some, know-

ledge does but puff up the mind with vanity and self-conceit; but true heavenly wisdom leads to humility, and to every thing that is excellent and of good report. For "whether there be prophecies they shall fail; whether there be tongues they shall cease; whether there be knowledge, it shall vanish away, but Charity never faileth. Not every one that saith unto me, Lord, Lord, shall enter into the kingdom of heaven; but he that doeth the will of my Father which is in heaven."

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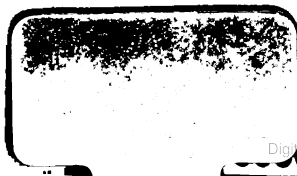
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